LIBRARY
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. LXXXVII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 15, 1936 NUMBER 1128

Contents

The Week 279

Editorials

1936—The Real Issue 282
The American Legion Sees the Light 284
Drought 284
Local Relief in New Jersey 285

General Articles

Artists on Relief ..... Constance Rourke 286
A Brief Manual of Beggary ..... H. F. Kane 288
Who Wants a Constitutional Amendment? ..... Evelyn Miller Crowell 290
"Scare-Words" and the Public ..... Selden C. Menefee 291
The Communist Convention ..... William P. Mangold 292
Other People's Money ..... John T. Flynn 294
Some Salaries and Wages 295
The Bandwagon 296

Correspondence 297

Books in Review

Talking United States ..... Edmund Wilson 299
War and No Peace ..... John Peale Bishop 301
Farewell and Hail ..... Harvey Curtis Webster 302
The Lower Depths ..... Nathan Asch 302
Practical Neutrality ..... Mauritz A. Hallgren 303
Some Poetry in Review ..... Robert Lann, Philip Horton, Theodore Roethke and C. H. Newman 304

The Week

THE possibility that Hitler is preparing to annex Danzig loomed as the most serious foreign development last week. Belief that he may be planning this was based chiefly on the extraordinary speech of A. K. Greiser, Nazi president of the Danzig Senate, who was as provocative and insulting as possible when he appeared before the League Council and virtually demanded that the present control by the Geneva body be ended. European observers believe the Germans may consider this an opportune moment to strike for possession of Danzig and put an end to the anomalous position created for that city at the close of the War. If this is Hitler's intention, he apparently has not consulted his Polish allies, who may turn back to the League, weak as it is, for their only possible aid in protesting the German plans. . . . Disorders again occurred in Paris, where 15,000 Fascists of the Croix de Feu, presumably members of the military organization which is now ordered disbanded, fought with police and Mobile Guards. The incident was important because of the tense situation throughout France and the continuing possibility of another attempted coup d'état by the Rightists. . . . In China, danger of conflict between Nanking and Canton continued to be serious, and Japan moved ahead with her plans to seize all of North China and set it up as another dummy government. . . . The celebration of Heidelberg's five-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary confirmed the predictions of the pessimists that it would be a glorification of Nazidom and all its ways. . . . The Pope announced a worldwide attack upon movies that do not satisfy the Catholics' views of what is good taste.

SHOWERS in the upper Mississippi Valley, bringing some hope of relief from drought, were for millions of Americans last week's most important domestic news. Thus far the rainfall has saved part of the crop in certain areas, but the drought still remains a major calamity and one requiring extensive action by the federal government on several fronts. . . . The effort of the Committee on Industrial Organization to unionize the steel industry, as a preliminary to similar efforts in rubber and automobiles, was met by a barrage of abuse from the steel companies and Tories in general and it is widely believed the owners of the mills are seeking to force an immediate strike, which they can break before the union becomes too strong. . . . Mr. Roosevelt's chances of reëlection appeared to be enhanced when Governor Lehman of New York announced that he would run again. . . . Candidate Landon served notice that he is opposed, in the long run, to benefits for farmers, though neither he nor anyone else has brought forward any other effective device to prevent American agriculture from producing more than can be sold. . . . Good news came from the convention of the National Education Association, when spokesmen for the American Legion admitted they had made a mistake in supporting teachers' loyalty-oath laws and promised they would no longer do so. . . . The American Association of Social Workers reported its own survey of relief conditions in New Jersey corrobo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rating completely the previous statements about the suffering caused by present policies. . . . The "Old Guard" Socialists, whose strength is chiefly in New York State, formed a new People's Party, which seems likely, though with deep reluctance, to come around finally to supporting the reëlection of President Roosevelt.

THE National Labor Relations Board is fighting hard for the power with which Congress entrusted it, and which anti-union employers through the courts are trying to take away. It is administering the law just as if Congress could enact such a law, and knew what it was about. This is admirable; it is the only honest thing to do unless or until the Supreme Court finally rules against it next winter. The Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation has been interfering with its employees' right to unionize; the Board sought to restrain it; the Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans denied the Board power to do so. The Board has asked a rehearing of the case on the ground that the precedent cited by the court should not apply. Meanwhile it went ahead to hold hearings on charges of unfair labor practices in the assembly plant of General Motors in St. Louis—charges of firing men for joining the union and of use of labor spies and armed guards against the attempt to organize. But the Circuit Court in St. Paul, on request of General Motors, has restrained the Board even from holding hearings to bring out the facts. The value of the Board's fight, even though it is likely to be defeated until either the Constitution is amended or the personnel of the courts is changed, is to show the actual situation and illuminate public opinion. We now know exactly what arbitrary methods the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation used to intimidate its employees; we know that the General Motors Corporation is afraid to have the facts of its labor relations discovered.

NO DOUBT millions of Americans said to themselves "Surprise!" when they opened their newspapers the other morning and discovered that Senator Borah will support the Republican candidate and platform. To be sure, this is just what has happened in every other presidential campaign in the memory of man. It has been standard procedure for the gentleman from Idaho to announce in advance that he did not like the way things were going, that he might bolt, and that the Republicans had better watch their step. Then the Republicans, broadly speaking, have ignored Mr. Borah and at the last minute he has returned meekly to the fold, like the small boy who runs away from home but always gets back in time for supper. There is no reason to believe that this year's candidate and platform suited him any better than those of former times; yet here he is, safely on the reservation and preparing, unless all signs fail, to campaign for Mr. Landon and to run again for the Senate. If the public did not consist largely of people capable of being surprised by the Senator who "always fires until he sees the whites of their eyes," American politics would not be what it is.

DOROTHY THOMPSON, in her syndicated column, commented not long ago on the difficulty with which people in fascist and non-fascist countries understand one another, because certain words do not mean the same thing across international frontiers. For example, she pointed out, "honor" to an American or Englishman is something that can be injured only by oneself, while to the fascists it is like "face" in the Orient—something other people can damage. This difference in national point of view was displayed last week when the Italian journalists at the League of Nations meeting booed and hissed Haile Selassie and sought, with mechanical noisemakers, to prevent his speaking. The Italians had nothing to lose, and much to gain, from one gesture of at least faint magnanimity toward the former Ethiopian Emperor. They had stolen his country in a war whose success resulted largely from dropping poison-gas bombs on civilians. They had bullied the chief nations of Europe into acquiescing in their coldblooded banditry. Even as Haile Selassie mounted the rostrum, the League was prepared to drop sanctions and all other technical opposition to Mussolini's course, and the Italian journalists were well aware of this. To an American, their booing of Haile Selassie seems an act so shocking that to call it poor sportsmanship is a wild understatement. Yet we do not doubt that these journalists even if, as is probable, they were acting under direct orders from Rome, found some way of justifying their behavior to themselves without too much loss of time.

ANYONE who attends the movies faithfully can see for himself what great harm has been done in the past few months by the covert censorship of the Catholic Legion of Decency. Hollywood has never been very brave, but under the threat that the Church would order all its communicants to boycott films with which it was displeased, logic, reason and truth to the facts of nature have all been thrown out the window and movies that were bad enough on their own account have been made even worse. A good example is a current film, "San Francisco," starring Jeannette MacDonald and Clark Gable, which insults the intelligence of those spectators who have any, with a story which might as well have been stamped, "made for the Legion of Decency trade." Since the Catholic censors have already done about as much harm as they could in this country, and since the American motion-picture product remains more important, in quantity and quality, than that of the rest of the world combined, we cannot get very much excited about the Pope's letter last week calling for an extension of the same principle to all lands. We think the letter regrettable, since it seeks to impose more firmly a special and dubious standard upon an artistic product regarding

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which the censors are not actually competent to speak; but practically, it is unlikely to have much effect. It is chiefly interesting, since the letter was palpably of American inspiration, as another sign of the growing dependence of the Vatican, especially in regard to its finances, upon the Church in this country.

THE celebration of the five-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the University of Heidelberg has now taken place, and it has been just the sort of Nazi self-glorification that every informed person expected it would be. Certain German educators announced clearly and frankly the position of the Nazis on the search for truth. Dr. Bernhard Rust stated with pride that there was now no objective science in Germany, that there was only German science. Dr. Ernest Krieck said, "We do not recognize truth for truth's sake, nor science for science's sake. The science of a nation is the expression of its total life, bound by the necessities, directions and purpose of that national life." Thus the ideal that has been held up by the universities of Germany as well as those of all the world, the fearless examination of all the facts by an unbiased mind in search of truth, has been set aside in the Nazi state. Certain American universities, which are still supposed to be dedicated to that ideal, sent representatives to Heidelberg to celebrate its destruction. It is to be hoped that they looked for the statute of Athena, goddess of wisdom, which five years ago was presented by American alumni of Heidelberg and their friends to the university. For Athena is no longer there, and in her place is the swastika and the eagle, and in place of the motto under the statue, "To the Eternal Spirit," is the motto, "To the German Spirit." This is the change that Heidelberg was celebrating.

COUNTRYWIDE decline of the general sales tax is announced by a recent bulletin of the Tax Policy League. Although during the depression years twenty-eight state legislatures adopted sales-tax laws, they have now expired, or been repealed, vetoed or defeated in popular referenda in seven states. In ten of the remaining states, and in New York City, the laws are scheduled to expire in 1937, and while several of them may be extended, at least for a temporary period, the League believes that the net list of the sales-tax states will be further reduced by midsummer, 1937, and will continue to decline thereafter. It is also possible, they say, that public opinion may force the repeal of the tax in some of the eleven states where it has been enacted as a permanent measure. No new sales taxes have been enacted in the last twelve months, but there are a few states now without them where the League estimates that there is some possibility of adoption, such as New Jersey, where, despite its speedy repeal on its first enactment, the sales tax may yet be employed instead of an income tax to meet revenue needs. In New York City the tax has been tolerated as an emergency measure justified by the city's tremendous relief load, but the bulletin quotes Grover A. Whalen as to the possibility of its permanency: "The moment a responsible public official suggests such permanent incorporation of the sales tax, there will be started an anti-sales-tax agitation in New York City that will make New Jersey's reaction seem like a pink tea party by comparison."

LABOR and liberal groups in the Pacific Northwest have united recently for the formation of a liberal newspaper in the Seattle region, a project the need of which is obvious. Last spring the Northwest Printing Trades Council and the Washington Commonwealth Federation asked Anna Louise Strong to investigate the feasibility of starting a paper to compete with the local Hearst organ, and the prominent liberal leaders whom she called together to discuss the matter decided, after technical advice from Harvey O'Connor, editor of The People's Press, and Morgan Hull, West Coast organizer of the Newspaper Guild, to go ahead with it. Since that time many other labor organizations have lent their names and support to the paper, including the Seattle branch of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, the Boilermakers' Union, and Local 401 of the American Federation of Teachers. The promotion committee, headed by Professor Richard G. Tyler of the University of Washington, is now selling subscriptions for capital stock at $10 apiece, with the expectation of beginning publication of their independent paper this month if the quota of $30,000 is reached.

AMONG the things to be applauded is the recent announcement of the Prudential Life Insurance Company that it has changed its group-insurance policies to prevent their use by unscrupulous employers as a means of forcing employees into company unions. The change is the result of a concerted campaign by the American Federation of Hosiery Workers and the Pennsylvania Shirt Workers' Union, an affiliate of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. These unions, with the aid of the Labor Publications Foundation, were able to expose a number of employers, including the Real Silk Hosiery Mills, Inc., and the Baskind Shirt Company, who had been using group insurance for anti-union purposes. At the Baskind factory in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, every employee was forced to join the Lebanon Baskind Employees' Association and, whether he wished a policy or not, its premiums were checked off from his pay as part of his company-union "dues." The Real Silk people endeavored to undermine the Hosiery Workers' union by offering group insurance solely to members of its company union—a violation of the Indiana insurance laws. The Prudential Company, which was involved in these schemes, now takes the position that insurance cannot be used as an inducement for membership in a company union and insists that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all employees shall be permitted to join in a group-insurance plan "without regard to their affiliation or non-affiliation with any organization or association whatever." Other insurance companies would do well to follow Prudential's example and put a similar clause in their policies.

THE Federal Communications Commission has postponed from July 1 to August 1 the enforcement of its recent order that no radio program originating in any other country can be broadcast in the United States without the written approval of the F.C.C. It is explained that this order was not intended to be what it seems on its surface, a shocking piece of wholesale political censorship. The F.C.C. has been worried about a few stations in Mexico, which it believes were constructed in that country in order to get outside the American jurisdiction, and was seeking to control rebroadcast of their programs. By inadvertence, we are led to infer, the order was so drawn as to include programs distributed over the national networks and originating in London, Paris and other European capitals. Even if the attempt at censorship were genuine, it would not be very effective with many thousands of short-wave receivers in every part of the country whose owners listen regularly to programs from all over the world. We think it is safe to assume that if the order goes into effect on August 1, it will have been modified to remove the threat of censorship that its first version contained.

BOSTON'S ridiculous custom of sending a "censor" to New York to pass on the suitability of plays that might invade Massachusetts is at last ended by the enactment of an ordinance providing that no Boston theatre license shall be revoked "on any ground having to do with public morality or decency, without a hearing." This means, in effect, that no show will be banned until it has had at least one performance in Boston. It may then be stopped for three days while a hearing is held, and if the special committee, composed of the mayor, the police commissioner and a member of the art commission, rules against it, it may be suppressed. That this new measure is actually a considerable improvement over the previous situation (when the mayor, the police commissioner or the chief justice of the municipal court might revoke or suspend any license "at his pleasure") only shows how badly Boston has acted in the past. Things will not be right until the decision is left, as it should be, to a jury. Credit for the change probably belongs in part to Herman Shumlin, the producer and director of "The Children's Hour," who was the first theatrical man in years to contest the arbitrary advance censorship, and in part to the Boston Civil Liberties Committee, which supported his court fight against the decision of Mayor Frederick W. Mansfield. The court ruled against Mr. Shumlin, but his fight gained the attention of the public and helped bring about the change.

1936—The Real Issue

ALTHOUGH we have just heard the crack of the starter's pistol for that much publicized race that attracts the sporting interest of the citizens every four years—the election of a President—something else is rapidly pushing politics off the favored position on the front page. The big contest bids fair to be not that between Roosevelt and Landon, but that between the unions and the steel magnates. And this in turn is typical of organization campaigns under way or forecast in automobiles, rubber and other major industries, of a growing wave of strikes in minor establishments and scattered localities. The issue is a historic one, which has been in suspense in this country much longer than approval or disapproval of the New Deal. It is also more important, for what the laws mean in practice, and what the public officials do, depend in the last analysis on the social and economic pressures behind them. In an industrial civilization like ours, industry is bound to have the last word. The decision concerning who has the right to speak for industry, therefore, is correctly sensed by the newsmen and the reading public as more fundamental than the marking of the pencil checks under the party symbols.

Basically, the undying and ever renewed struggle for independent unionism and true collective bargaining is a struggle for power. It is not a struggle for power between particular individuals—at present, for instance, between John L. Lewis and the heads of United States Steel, or, in 1919, between Judge Gary and William Z. Foster. It is a struggle for power between the owners of industry or the executives who legally represent them on the one hand, and the united force of the men and women who do the work on the other. There are many technical and complex issues concerning company unions, bargaining, the closed shop, etc., but all of them in the end may be resolved into the question of how much say the citizen-workers shall have regarding their lives and their rewards in the shop, in the industry, in the city, state and nation.

The crude position of the rulers of business under capitalism has traditionally been that the industry is "theirs," that they have the sole right to make decisions regarding production, prices, wages, hours, working conditions. They have frequently rallied their forces to resist encroachments upon their power from workers, from consumers or from government as a possible agency of both. Little by little they have been forced to give way in certain sectors or in certain respects. Labor organization has established itself in some occupations, and governmental restraints have been imposed. The idea of economic royalism as if by divine right must continually be questioned in a society ostensibly dedicated to democratic ends and procedure. The industrial rulers have therefore developed a number of defenses. These defenses are varied and ingenious. Like the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Old Man of the Sea, the autocratic employers put on an infinite number of disguises to elude their opponents; they are by turns forceful and subtle; they use both brute power and skillful publicity. But the issue remains the same.

Two major objectives determine the strategy of the non-union employers in preserving their power. One is to diminish the stature of any institution that may attempt to share their prerogatives. Thus, a government that may be unfriendly is attacked as inefficient or corrupt; its very constitutional right to legislate and to execute laws is undermined. And any organization of employees that may be independent of the employer is denied a foothold. Its leaders or members are discharged; its units and plans are discovered by spies; it is disrupted by provocateurs and propaganda; any available force, private or public, is employed against it. If it finally becomes powerful enough to challenge the employers, it is compelled to strike in order to gain a hearing, and then the employer attempts to outlaw the strikers from the industry unless they will come back defeated and on his own terms—which include, of course, abandonment of their organization.

The other strategic objective comes into play when government or unions become too strong to be stood off entirely by these methods. This is to control the potential opponent. Employers strive to put their own candidates into office; they buy the party machines with campaign contributions; they regulate the regulators. That is an old practice. Somewhat newer is the employers' plan of fighting the unions by spurious employee organizations or representation plans. Employees of a given company are invited to elect representatives from among their own number. Conferences are held with these representatives to discuss grievances. This is called "collective bargaining," as at present by the Steel Institute. But the bargain is not genuine because the union is not independent. Its constitution and by-laws were drawn up by the employer. Its representatives are paid by him. It has no dues or funds. It cannot hire experts or lawyers or pay officers who are not employees of the company and so subject to discharge and discipline. Even if it did so, the company would not meet these officers. The employees are not linked with the employees of other companies in the same industry, though the employers are organized for a common labor policy. Members of a company union are of course not affiliated with the labor movement in general. Usually the employers will not even make contracts with these imitation unions, covering the ordinary subjects of bargaining such as wages and hours.

Employees do not choose these representation plans of their own free will; they are not given the chance by the employer to vote whether they prefer the real union or the false one. The so-called "interference" by government with the right of employees to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing has consisted chiefly, under the New Deal, in the holding of elections by secret ballot to see which type of union the employees really prefer. And it has consisted in ordering the employer to cease using compulsion to support the company union, when the workers have shown that they prefer the genuine one. Against this effort to obtain real industrial democracy, the steel employers and others have conducted expensive legal battles and have obtained decisions in their favor by the courts, on abstruse constitutional grounds, such as that the manufacture of steel is not "interstate commerce" and hence is not subject to federal control. Having by such subterfuges defeated the effort of government to assure industrial freedom, the steel employers now appear in the noble role of "protecting" their employees against "coercion" and "intimidation" by the "outsiders" of the genuine labor movement. Imagine a few hundred union organizers going into steel districts controlled by hostile officials and police, and intimidating 500,000 husky steel workers into joining the union!

The union labor movement is more than a century old in the United States; it has grown slowly, but in spite of innumerable enemies and many vicissitudes it has shown a sturdy persistence. It has never, however, gained more than a foothold in the great basic industries where the power of concentrated capital holds sway. Yet the workers in these industries periodically struggle for their independence, under one organization or another and under a long succession of leaders. Hope may be stilled for a time, but it never dies. There have been many strikes in steel; the last one covering the whole industry was of course in 1919. Every time the labor movement shows signs of life, every time there appears to be a real chance of establishing a union, the workers restlessly begin to seek organization in these great non-union centers. Some time they will win. The steel industry and the rest must in the end relinquish industrial absolutism and bargain collectively with the workers concerning their conditions of employment. The only way this outcome can be avoided in the long run is by the establishment of a reactionary dictatorship that destroys political democracy and independent unions at one stroke, as in Germany and Italy. We cannot remain politically democratic and industrially absolutist. One regime or the other must prevail.

After all, what the workers are seeking at present is far from complete industrial democracy; it is only a limited monarchy, the introduction of some kind of representative constitution. They do not ask the steel barons to abdicate. They do not demand power over the industry. They do not assert the competence to make technical decisions. All they stand for is the right as a unit to make contracts concerning the terms on which they sell their labor, the right to organize themselves so that they can bargain with the great aggregation of capital that represents the steel industry on somewhat more nearly equal terms than does the individual worker looking for a job. Wise rulers would share this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

amount of power without a struggle. A regime that can maintain itself only by forcible suppression of repeated rebellions is unstable. If a costly strike now interrupts recovery in steel, if workers in other industries are forced to leave production, if bloodshed and bitter civil hostility develop, the real blame will lie with the industrial autocrats who will not learn the lesson of democracy. The fight against economic royalism is the real issue of 1936. Until that is won, no political New Deal can really serve the American people.

The American Legion Sees the Light

A REMARKABLE change in the attitude of the American Legion was recorded a few days ago at the meeting of the National Education Association at Portland, Oregon. Mr. Frank Miles, editor of The Iowa Legionnaire, announced about as bluntly as anyone could that the Legion has changed its mind on the subject of laws requiring teachers to take an oath of loyalty to the Constitution. Two years ago, the Legion passed a resolution approving such laws and since then its members have been active in many states, lobbying for these measures. It is reported, for example, that Legionnaires took part in the disgraceful scenes in Massachusetts when hoodlums, including members of the legislature, howled down the presidents of the leading colleges of New England, who were protesting the enactment of one of these teacher gag laws.

Mr. Miles said, in effect, that the Legion sees the error of its ways and recants them. He spoke for National Commander Murphy, and quoted a decision of the Legion's judge-advocate which said the resolution of two years ago is no longer binding. He went on to point out that "Americanism does not consist in throwing children into jail because they fail to salute the flag. And neither does Americanism consist of enforcing compulsory oaths of loyalty upon any class of citizens. . . . Commander Murphy rightly feels that some of the sources agitating such legislation are as menacing to American democracy as the elements they profess to be attacking." The chief of these "sources" is of course William Randolph Hearst, who proved that he "can't take it" by leaving out of The New York American (and, it is safe to assume, his other papers) all mention of this important news from Portland.

We do not know whether any political significance attaches to the Legion's change of front. It is possible that its national officials have put an ear to the ground and heard something. The reaction against such acts as the censoring of Mr. LeRoy Baldridge's pamphlet on Americanism, described in The New Republic of July 8, was so strong that even the staunchest professional patriot might well have been alarmed. At any rate, we welcome the Legion's sudden and startling restoration to sanity. We hope the next step will be to request the resignation of Mr. H. L. Chaillaux, who, as director of the Legion's National Americanism Committee, has himself been one of the worst of the witch hunters. And we trust that the Legion from now on will adhere firmly to the principle that the only sound way to make people patriotic is to give them a country of which they can be proud.

Drought

AGAIN, as in 1934, the sun beats down unremittingly on great areas of farm land; the mercury rises to the top of the tube, crops burn, soil pulverizes and blows away, cattle starve and die of thirst, hopeless families leave their homes as their property goes under the auctioneer's hammer. This great natural calamity seriously affects at least 200,000 families in seventeen states. Meanwhile the price of wheat rockets upward on the exchanges, and a shortage of meat impends for city dwellers.

Planning, we are continually being told, was merely a delusive fad of the depression; it is both unnecessary and impossible to execute. We must go back to rugged individualism, especially on the farm. If relief is necessary because of temporary misfortune, it must come solely from the states and local communities. Farmers should settle where they like and grow what they please by any methods they think best. It is not the government's province to help bring order into agriculture.

But drought is here; it has come before and it will come again. Immediate help for the unfortunate farmers is being demanded from the federal government and is being extended; there is no other sufficient source. Plans are being made and executed for the removal of cattle that can be saved and for the slaughter of those that would otherwise starve. Some future provision must be devised for destitute families, especially those in regions already returned to desert or rapidly returning. Government geologists tell us that the water table is so low in many agricultural regions, having been tapped for so much irrigation and for so many wells, that roots can no longer reach moisture; small dams and other conservation measures must be used. Large areas must be returned to grass if the soil is to be saved at all. Reforestation must be continued. Other types of erosion control must be extended.

The memory of some political leaders is so short that even after the economic disaster of 1932 and the weather disaster of 1934, they again had the propaganda for individualism in full cry by 1935. The new drought has painfully reinforced our former lesson. Planning is not dead, or if it is, we shall die for lack of it. Federal coördination is not dead. We must plan collectively to deal with our environment, if we are not to perish. The calamity of the drought is as nothing compared with the devastation of our other resources, natural and human, that will eventually come if we persist in doing individually

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exactly as we like without the aid of scientific intelligence and concerted action. The old delusion that this is a nation specially favored by God, which need take no thought for the morrow, is being burned to powder under the fierce blast of a scorching sun.

Local Relief in New Jersey

NEW JERSEY continues to furnish a case-history of what happens when relief is "turned back to the local communities," as the Republicans recommend. Harry L. Hopkins recently issued a report on conditions in that state, which was commented upon editorially in The New Republic for June 24, but many newspapers sought to ignore or minimize the report as coming from a partisan source. No such charge can be brought against the current Bulletin of the New Jersey Conference of Social Work, which offers striking corroboration of the Hopkins report. This conference is an impartial body of public-spirited citizens headed by Dr. Frank Kingdon, president of the University of Newark. At its last regional meeting the Conference heard addresses by several men in varied walks of life who have made a first-hand study of what has happened since last April, when both the federal and state governments withdrew from relief in New Jersey.

William J. Ellis, commissioner of the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies, said, "With little inquiry it is easy to discover almost the entire program of the Elizabethan overseer in many of its worst aspects in certain areas of this state. There is compulsory road work at 20 cents an hour with a limit of a $2 weekly food order, no matter what the size of the family. There are food orders emblazoned with the words, 'I, having declared myself to be a pauper. . . .' " He went on to describe instances of helpless families being denied any food whatever, of sick persons not only denied medical care but made to do manual labor even before they could get food, and of one man, a diabetic, who had had the fingers of one hand amputated because of gangrene, being sent out to do road work in order to obtain food for his family. Commissioner Ellis stressed the harshness of the local overseer system, which allows petty functionaries to work out local grudges, and said that not only is there grievous present distress but also the future is being undermined because more than 40 percent, or two out of every five, of the persons on relief are children under sixteen years of age.

Eduard C. Lindeman, professor of Philosophy at the New York School of Social Work and a former president of the Conference, demolished the threadbare arguments of reactionaries who say that the number of unemployed is exaggerated, that relief clients have been coddled, that able-bodied persons would rather stay on relief than work and that the local overseer of the poor is the proper agency for distributing relief. Lindeman showed that there are still upwards of ten million unemployed in this country at the least possible calculation, that the relief pittance, far from "coddling," is below any decent minimum standard of living, and that the way to find out whether persons will work is to offer them jobs at something at least approaching just wages. Added point is given to his last remark by the current news from Hammonton, New Jersey, that relief clients are being forced to accept temporary jobs picking berries, at which they may earn 50 cents to $1 for eleven hours of back-breaking work under a blazing sun, or else told to starve.

Additional confirmation of conditions in New Jersey came last week in a special report of the American Association of Social Workers, based on an independent survey. This association reports that there is actual starvation in New Jersey today. Some people have died because of the lack of relief or of medical supplies. In other instances, it charges there is forced labor, both for governmental units and for private employers. It describes one community where the local relief agents have been busily engaged in putting fifteen and sixteen-year-old girls, taken from relief rolls, into a cosmetic factory at starvation wages.

In one-quarter of the towns studied, there is no relief for single men; in one-quarter, no aid is given unless you have lived in the community for five years. In one-fifth of the towns, the food budgets are from 27 to 50 percent less than the minimum set up by the E.R.A. Nearly half the places make no allowance for rent; in one-third, people who are ill get the same food (and no more of it) as do those who are well. In four-fifths of the towns, those earning a few dollars a month from the W.P.A. have to live on it, no matter how inadequate it is. In some places, all aliens are considered as non-human and requiring no aid. In one-third of the towns, all previous records have been canceled and the whole dreary business of filling out report forms has begun over again This is the situation that The New York Herald Tribune, and the Tories in general, view with complacency; this is what the Republican Party, according to its platform, would like to see repeated throughout the United States.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1936, IN THE U. S., BY THE NEW REPUBLIC, INC., 40 EAST 49TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY. BRUCE BLIVEN, PRESIDENT, DANIEL MEBANE, TREASURER.

EDITORS

BRUCE BLIVEN MALCOLM COWLEY R. M. LOVETT
GEORGE SOULE STARK YOUNG

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

HAMILTON BASSO H. N. BRAILSFORD JOHN DEWEY
JOHN T. FLYNN WALDO FRANK E. C. LINDEMAN
W. P. MANGOLD JON. MITCHELL LEWIS MUMFORD
REXFORD G. TUGWELL

RATES: SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN, FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Artists on Relief

IF ARTISTS on relief have heard some of the comments tossed in their direction, their bitterness must have been sharp. A punitive attitude seems to have developed, particularly among those whose wealth might in better times have made them patrons of the arts. Theirs has been that hearty emphasis upon the ditch which has been one of the singular features of the depression. "Let them dig ditches" has been their prescription for those who could no longer find a market for their paintings and sculptures.

At least from such mandates the American artist has learned that his position has been distinctly marginal, but this after all is nothing new. He has always had to struggle against European rivals and has had to accept what in the cold terms of purchase has been a minor relationship. He has been favored neither by the rich buyers nor by the museums, a circumstance that has lately received attention from two such diverse commentators as Mr. Maury Maverick and Mr. Max Weber; the wonder is that it has not reached the point of agitation in the past, particularly in relation to the museums, which with very few exceptions have been notoriously uninterested in American art. It is true that during the boom of the late twenties a fair number of fliers were taken in American art, and the technic of publicity was modestly used in its behalf with the familiar inflations, the pumping-up of fame. In other words the artist's career, so frequently sentimentalized, followed the patterns of a highly speculative modern business, but even so his was a luxury product of a minor order. After the economic collapse a very large number of artists faced the fact that their slight relations with a public were completely broken, and they foresaw the disruptive effects of a long idleness, with an inevitable loss of skills.

What happened under the agency known as P.W.A.P. was not a test either for art or for government. The results made a kind of independent gallery, hastily improvised and thoroughly lively, but this was an experimental measure, beginning in December, 1933, and ending in six months. A widespread incidence of talent appeared, much of it already well known, and the experiment proved that American artists on the run could show gallantry and resilience, but that was all. A few enterprises for artists were subsequently undertaken by state agencies. These often lacked expert direction; they entirely lacked the force of a concerted movement. A few scattered undertakings were continued under the Federal Relief Act. Under the United States Treasury Department a division was organized for the decoration of public buildings; some of the artists chosen were from the relief rolls, but the number has been small when the total is considered. None of these agencies defined or met the many destructive forces at work or reckoned with the fact that a profound and permanent dislocation might follow within the history of American art. The plight of the young artist of distinguished but still emergent gifts was hardly considered at all.

When the present Federal Art Project was set up in August, 1935, under the direction of Mr. Holger Cahill, as a division under the Works Progress Administration, the number of artists on relief had risen to about four thousand, and there were between fifteen hundred and two thousand more, not yet on relief but living on the margin of starvation. When these numbers became known, some passionate but ignorant paragraphs were spoken on "subsidizing mediocrity." It has been overhastily concluded that all of this number would be made to go through the motions of producing masterpieces, turning out square yards of art, using up good government paint, canvas, plaster, clay and stone whether they are really artists or not, in a kind of relief mill, exchanging their productions for an average of something over twenty dollars a week. Obviously five thousand artists will not produce masterpieces. The waste on any such basis would be enormous, and not for the government alone. For the gifted artist the experience of being thrown into such a hopper might easily be a last destruction, and it is easy to guess how damaging would be the results for the worker of minor talent.

The selection of Mr. Cahill as director of the Project was fortunate since he has been actively associated with the work of contemporary American artists, as a member of the staffs of various museums that specialize in contemporary art and as an organizer of large municipal exhibitions in New York and elsewhere. As a writer and critic, his knowledge of the historical developments in American art is extremely wide; he is our outstanding authority on folk art and American primitives. This last may seem only an interesting piece of supplementary equipment, of no particular consequence for the present emergency, but it has great relevance. Mr. Cahill is thoroughly acquainted with the relationship to the main streams of art borne by those minor and often anonymous artists whom we call folk artists; he has in consequence a working philosophy as to the conditions under which talent is brought into free expression. This relationship has become entirely clear abroad, where folk art has borne a sound relation to the fine and practical arts, and where, as Mr. Cahill points out, the usefulness of the minor artist has always been considered, where his talents have had a distinct and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clearly understood place, notably in historical and educational undertakings, and where he has often assumed this place through state support.

A plan of great originality and scope has taken shape under Mr. Cahill's direction, which, though it is primarily a relief measure realistically thought out, embodies a set of ideas that may prove far-reaching. An integration between the fine arts and the practical arts has been one of the avowed purposes of the plan, and likewise an integration of the arts with the life of the community. A sympathetic and understanding public is a necessary factor in the development of a sound economic and social base for American art, even for final esthetic values. Through the reports and manuals and working procedures of the Project runs a critique on these themes, which must have a considerable influence since they are widely distributed. The new plans have consistently depended upon community demands and interests.

Under the stimulus and direction of creative artists many services that are important in themselves have been accomplished throughout the country, bringing into play the useful talents of the artist of genuine if minor gifts, and tending to raise the level of popular taste. Illustrative maps and charts and large-scale relief maps, often of distinct beauty, have been made by well known artists for schools and libraries. An outstanding example has been the fine world-map mural, clear and interesting in color and design, extremely rich in its suggested materials, done for the Julia Richman High School in New York by Benjamin Knotts and Guy Maccoy, with a group of artists, artisans and other workers. Educational dioramas, lantern slides and settings for amateur plays have been made under supervision with care for esthetic values, to supply definite needs when local funds for such materials have been cut off. In many instances such funds have never been available. Posters for socially useful purposes, such as health and safety campaigns, have made a consistent body of work with a clear emphasis upon esthetic effect. In California, craftsmen working under the Project have created scenic models of landscapes and figures of charm and interest which will take the place of long printed labels for many museum exhibits; and similar work has been done for wild life exhibits in Connecticut. In Cleveland, models of road building and other constructional activity, quite extraordinarily well designed, have been made as part of a popular educational program.

The Design Laboratory in New York is a well developed example of this fruitful interaction among groups of artists, with a thoroughly modern orientation toward industry. The many uses of materials now available for the artist, including the synthetic materials, are explored under distinguished direction, with an encouraging emphasis upon improving the design of the humblest objects in everyday use. The master-pupil idea here as in Philadelphia and Cleveland has been dominating—by it "the young artist learns from the mature professional, and the professional in turn is exposed to the constructive influence of that responsibility."

Community participation has been furthered by a plan through which local organizations, and in some instances individuals, have become what are known as "coöperating sponsors," furnishing materials, workshops and in some cases expensive equipment for the use of groups of artists. A number of art museums have assumed this position and have made productive relationships between themselves and local artists and craftsmen. The director of the Denver Art Museum, Mr. Donald J. Bear, reports an equivalent of five years' growth in the two and one-half years during which government art projects have been sustained there.

Traveling exhibits of work by artists on the Project have been arranged and will form an increasing part of this program. In one state the first of these exhibits had hardly been organized when a request for this show came from a village of between five and six hundred inhabitants, so little known that the state director had to look it up on the map to discover where it was. Experimental galleries have been set up in a number of small towns where no access to art collections has been possible, showing typical forms of art expression and the use of the different mediums. These have attracted a large amount of attention, particularly from young people. Nineteen of these gallery units have been set up in the Southern states alone. Many of these promise to become permanent museums because of a strong local interest.

In all ways community response has been extremely wide. "Our schools are bare." "We have no art or art materials of any kind here"—this from a small Western town. In more than one region the urgent requests for murals, easel paintings and sculptures have greatly exceeded the available supply. A widening area of social influence has been created by the large number of classes for underprivileged children, taking them off the streets and providing fresh and natural outlets for expression. One school superintendent says that these classes have done more to stabilize the schools in his city during a difficult time than any other single agency and that "they have given us an enriched program, and more than anything we have been able to do have stimulated art appreciation on the part of pupils and parents."

What of the creative artist under this program in the exercise of his more personal gifts? No sweeping conclusion can be drawn, but from the excellent exhibits shown at the Federal Art Galleries in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, from the paintings, prints and sculptures that have found their way to Washington, one would say that the artist of distinction and experience has been doing some of his best work for that abstraction called government. He has certainly been generous

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the division between his private time and the time for which the government has bargained. It is even possible that in the freedom from the pressure of cliques, the insistence of dealers, the noise of publicity, he has found a definite release. Some of these artists are frank to say that their new relationships in teaching and direction have been highly productive for their own work.

There can be no doubt whatever that the program has had a most stimulating effect upon young talent. The abundance and freedom, even the gayety, with which this has come into play has been unmistakable. A sheaf of water colors by Samuel Brown of Philadelphia, fresh and distinctive work by Ann Michalov of Chicago, by Edward Lewandowski of Milwaukee, by Stanford Fenelle of Minneapolis—these are only a few of the very large number of young artists who have shown a genuine insurgence of original power. Some of the most interesting of the new murals have been painted by young artists, Hester Murray, Emanuel Jacobson and Edwin Boyd Johnson of Illinois, Elizabeth Tracy of Massachusetts. The frescoes of Michael Newell in the Library of the Evander Childs High School in New York are an outstanding instance of new conquests. Finely organized, exceptionally beautiful in the use of color, these have taken an immediate place in the imaginative life of the school.

A flexible and well organized movement has been brought into existence, proceeding from a concept of art not as the possession of the few but as a free impulse that should have a large and natural place in our society for pleasure and use. The national scope has been essential, permitting the laying out of far-reaching plans. The Federal Art Project does not solve all the problems of the American artist or of an art movement. Plenty of these remain, among them the salient one of making possible a wider possession of art by those who covet and need it. But this emergency program foreshadows many new relationships. It has been sensitively contrived with a consciousness of permanent values, which is fortunate, for quite literally during the depression these have been at stake.

CONSTANCE ROURKE.

A Brief Manual of Beggary

IN ALL stages of civilization there have been beggars and nomadic mendicants. These are not included within the scope of the present manual, for they are doing well, make a good living, know their business thoroughly and need no suggestions or sympathy.

At present beggary is being forced upon large numbers of newcomers because of economic conditions—unemployment, poverty, lack of security in work or in the home, more particularly lack of security in old age. Unemployed toilers and, in many instances, their wives and children, are drifting along the highways and riding freight trains on the railroads of the nation, penniless, hungry, without permanent destination or means to obtain a foothold anywhere. It is on behalf of these unemployed, migratory, disfranchised victims that this manual is written.

THE MAIN STEM, OR "DRAG"

This refers to the solicitation of food or money upon the principal business streets of a city, town or village. The person following this method should be fairly well dressed, sober, clean-shaven and of good address. He should try to *interest* the subject approached by getting his attention. This is generally the hardest part of his task. This obtained, he should state his case briefly, politely and convincingly, asking for *food,* not money. Very often the patron will donate money anyhow, rather than take the trouble to accompany the applicant to an eating place. The cheap, petty and contemptible method so often resorted to by beggars of asking in a whining voice for "a cup of cawfee" is an evidence of ignorance and a lack of ability to use good English. Always ask for a *meal.* Women may be solicited, but great care should be shown in approaching them and the utmost courtesy should be shown them.

Caution should also be used on most city streets to avoid plain-clothes detectives, police officers and unsympathetic persons. The officers, of course, are the guardians of property, and property doesn't want too much poverty to be exhibited on its business streets.

STORES, BAKERIES, MEAT MARKETS

These places should be approached judiciously. Avoid asking for anything when there are customers around or when proprietors and salesmen are engaged in conversation. The prospective patron should be treated with polite earnestness and strongly impressed with the feeling that the applicant is badly in need of food and will be glad to accept any edible article such as stale bread, cake, pastry, coffee, sugar, vegetables, bacon butts and "odds and ends." If one has already obtained most of the required articles and lacks one more, meat, for instance, it is well to inform the meat-market man that only his contribution is necessary before retiring to the "jungle" in order to cook and eat. "Jungles" are places, generally on the outskirts of a city, town or village, where itinerants go to cook

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their food by the aid of various discarded tin cans and utensils. Wood, water and seclusion are the principal features necessary to a good "jungle."

The small merchant has also become more difficult to solicit successfully, as the horde of hungry hoboes "on the road" has greatly increased, and therefore the approach requires ingenuity. The appearance of the applicant is perhaps not so important as in the case of private residences or on the "stem."

Private Residences

Methods of approach, whether by the front door or by the back door—though generally the latter—should be studied at a glance. One must be wary of dogs and cranky, uncharitable men. I believe that beggars who are interested in children and who like dogs get along better at the "privates."

I have found by experience that it is best to approach residences for food at the following times: For breakfast, from 7:30 to 8:30 o'clock; dinner, 12:30 to 1:00 (or 1:30 on Sundays); supper, 6:30 to 7:30. At these times it will generally be found that families have eaten their meals and are therefore in a more receptive mood, especially if there is sufficient food left over. Upon the occasions referred to, "sit downs," or invitations to eat at the family table, are more apt to be given.

Housewives are the finest exponents of *real* charity in the country, hospitable and kindly. They should therefore be treated with the utmost courtesy and consideration by needy applicants. An offer to do any work needed around the house or grounds is always an asset in obtaining food, clothing and occasionally small sums of money.

Sympathetic women will often cook a meal for tramps, either at the periods mentioned or at almost any other time, and "lumps" or "poke-outs" are possible at any time during the day, and are very convenient for itinerants who have just arrived from long trips by highways or railroad, during which it was impossible to obtain food. It may be said here that in some states of the Union it is now almost impossible for tramps to get rides on the highways. Car-owners cite instances where hoboes have killed or robbed those who have given them rides, but such cases are not numerous and often give car-owners an "alibi" for refusing rides.

Public Institutions

Some applicants for food make such public institutions as hospitals and religious houses a regular line of activity, begging them frequently, but it is generally not well to do so, as many such places have been seriously affected by the depression. Catholic institutions especially are very hospitable and never inquire into the religion of the applicant, as do the Salvation Army and the missions, which endeavor to give spiritual advice accompanied by donations of thin soup and meager contributions of poor food.

Some Suggestions to Beggars

Cleanliness, decent appearance and courtesy always impress everywhere. The importance of this cannot be too strongly emphasized. Beggars should be real salesmen.

Arguments with persons solicited should be avoided, as they seldom do any good after a refusal to aid. Never act with rudeness or discourtesy in cases where one is refused, as doing so may cause the person to refuse aid at some future time to some other beggar.

Never pretend religion in order to obtain food, clothing or shelter. Beggars who indulge in such hypocrisy and those who habitually frequent the Salvation Army headquarters and various missions, represent the lowest and most unethical type of our profession. They are generally not to be trusted or taken into one's confidence. In too many instances they are the creatures of detectives, police officers and other authorities who seek to pry into our affairs without sufficient justification.

Our conduct as a class toward each other and toward those in humble circumstances should be considerate and marked by sympathy and kindness.

"Private jungles" are a nuisance. The rights of the individual should give way to the welfare of the group. Avoid heated arguments in the "jungle" that might lead to insulting language or to hostility. Be tolerant in thought, language and action.

I consider the word "bum" a term of reproach to men who are unemployed and unfortunate. The words "tramp" and "hobo" are not so degrading in their implications. James Eads Howe, in his organization known as the Brotherhood of Hoboes, had a worthy ideal and deserved better support.

Remember that, as beggars, we are very largely products of industrial conditions, and that we should endeavor to uphold social ideals that demand a better and higher life for ourselves and for the coming generations.

Suggestions for Better Social Conditions

If beggary upon a large scale is to be eliminated in this country we must have genuine and complete social insurance—unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, mothers' pensions, public medical and dental services and good hospitalization for all. The workers will pay for them, and will use them when necessary and upon a basis of self-respect. We protest against unemployed workers being compelled to sleep in jails and police stations during cold weather. In too many cases authorities permit such places to be dirty, poorly ventilated and verminous. Workers are not criminals, and should not be compelled to associate with the latter.

In closing, I desire to pay my humble tribute of respect to the many splendid women of the working class and the middle class who have given me food and hospitality during the last few years.

H. F. Kane.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Who Wants a Constitutional Amendment?

ON THE eve of the reading of the Democratic platform for 1936 to the assembled convention in Philadelphia, an erstwhile ranking Roosevelt brain-truster, recently turned Tory, took occasion to denounce privately, as he has since done publicly, the inclusion of a plank advocating the submission of a constitutional amendment to clarify the status of social legislation.

"If the President persists in this course," the ex-brain-truster affirmed solemnly, "the odds on his reëlection will drop to even money."

This sweeping statement, and the attitude it represented, interested me very much. It so happens that I have followed closely the editorial reaction to the Supreme Court decision declaring unconstitutional the New York minimum-wage law for women. And if you want to read the expressions of real conservatives, all you need to do is to turn to the editorial pages of the majority of the newspapers in the United States.

In the case of the invalidation of the minimum-wage law, however, the conservatives were shocked out of their usual complacency. Newspapers that had applauded the death of the N.R.A., the Guffey coal-control bill and the A.A.A., admitted editorially that the Supreme Court was going too far when it killed the minimum-wage law. They went even further and declared that if it were impossible to pass legislation for the protection of women and children which would stand up within the present confines of the Constitution, then the Constitution would have to be amended.

Out of 344 editorials on the minimum-wage decision, there were only 10 that approved the decision. Of the nine newspapers represented (two editorials were from the same paper), six were from the deep South, two from New England, and one from upstate New York. All were from cheap-labor sections, the majority from textile-mill towns.

Editorials criticizing this decision came from such conservative newspapers as The New York Times, Washington Post, Richmond Times-Dispatch, Baltimore Sun, New York Herald Tribune, Kansas City Star and Boston Herald.

But what was much more interesting than mere adverse criticism of the decision, even when such criticism came from the conservatives, was the imposing list of ultra-conservative newspapers that urged the submission of a constitutional amendment as a result of the decision.

Of 124 editorials discussing the submission of a constitutional amendment as a result of the Supreme Court decision in the New York minimum-wage-law case, the breakdown was as follows:

57 urged submission of a constitutional amendment;
17 opposed submission of a constitutional amendment;
4 opposed submission of a constitutional amendment, but expressed fear that the decision would precipitate such action;
20 discussed the probability of the submission of a constitutional amendment becoming a campaign issue;
22 discussed in general terms the submission of a constitutional amendment;
4 warned against haste in submitting a constitutional amendment, urging that protection be sought first within present constitutional limits.

The editorials urging submission of a constitutional amendment came from newspapers with such divergent policies as The New York Sun and The Philadelphia Record; The Baltimore Evening Sun and The New York Daily News; The Concord, N. H., Monitor and The Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald; The Rutland, Vt., Herald and The Sheboygan, Wis., Press.

There is no occasion for surprise that a liberal or even a semi-liberal newspaper should advocate the submission of a constitutional amendment which would make it possible to protect women and children, but look at this list of conservative advocates:

Akron, O., Beacon-Journal; Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser; Worcester, Mass., Post; Albany, N. Y., Knickerbocker Press; New York Wall Street Journal; Scranton, Pa., Times; Bridgeport, Conn., Times-Star; Galveston, Tex., News; Denver, Colo., Post; Mobile, Ala., Register; Kansas City, Mo., Journal-Post; Decatur, Ill., Herald; Buffalo, N. Y., Courier Express; Kenosha, Wis., News; Durham, N. C., Herald; Houston, Tex., Post; Kansas City, Kan., Kansan; Huntington, W. Va., Advertiser; Charlotte, N. C., Observer; Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch; Davenport, Ia., Times; Miami, Fla., News; Tacoma, Wash., Times; Des Moines, Ia., Register; Fort Wayne, Ind., News-Sentinel; Las Vegas, Nev., Review Journal; Elizabeth, N. J., Journal; Long Island City, N. Y., Star; Memphis, Tenn., Commercial Appeal.

To give the tone of some of the actual editorials I quote a few excerpts:

> The law that would jail any laundry-man for having an underfed horse should jail him for having an underfed girl employee. So we must change the law. —Albany, N. Y., Knickerbocker Press (Independent-Republican).
>
> . . . There is . . . a remedy for all this. If people wish to invest Congress and legislatures with the right to protect workers from the miserliness of employers they can do so by amending the Constitution. . . . Instead of railing at the Supreme Court, those who wish its decision had been otherwise would be well advised to devote their energies to the preparation of an amendment to effect the end they desire—a concrete proposal which can be debated on its merits and submitted to the orderly process by which the supreme law is made to conform to any change in the popular will.—New York Sun (Independent-Republican).
>
> . . . if the Constitution stands in the way of human progress, as the people of today conceive it, the Constitution should be amended and made clear, especially in respect to that much discussed and abused "general welfare" clause.—Rutland, Vt., Herald (Independent-Republican).
>
> . . . the way out is to amend the Constitution so as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to permit such legislation, assuming that it is "the will of the people" to have legal wage minima.—Wall Street Journal (Independent).

. . . Instead of abusing the Supreme Court, advocates of a minimum-wage-for-women policy should get busy now on the submission of a constitutional amendment to permit such legislation.—Denver, Colo., Post (Independent).

. . . On so gravely important a matter, there must sooner or later come a decision from the people, transcending even that of the Supreme Court.—Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald (Democrat).

I submit this list and these comments to the ex-brain-truster, newly turned Tory, and to all other timid souls who feel that only rabid radicals who wish to overthrow our present form of government are in favor of the submission of a constitutional amendment.

EVELYN MILLER CROWELL.

"Scare-Words" and the Public

FOR MANY years liberals and radicals have been engaging in fruitless controversy over the effect exerted on the American voter by party labels such as "Socialism" and "Communism." Many sympathetic critics laid to these stereotypes the poor showing made by the left-wing parties in 1932.

To get the facts regarding the influence of stereotyped words on political judgments, an experiment was undertaken at the University of Washington with 700 subjects, composed chiefly of university students, but including also night-school students, librarians, teachers and social workers. These groups were asked to mark "Yes" or "No" opposite each of sixteen widely varied statements on political questions—a situation roughly parallel to voting on similar issues. After four weeks, the same people were presented with a second questionnaire, containing the same statements, but this time with the addition of these eight stereotyped words: Conservatism, Fascism, Patriotism, Pacifism, Liberalism, Radicalism, Socialism and Communism. Each of these stereotypes served as a heading for an appropriate pair of sentences.

These experimental groups showed that three of the eight stereotypes were definitely "scare words": Fascism, Radicalism and Communism. One-quarter to one-third of those who marked the appropriate statements "Yes" in the first questionnaire, changed their answer to "No" after these stereotyped words were added. The college group tended to be influenced favorably by the term "Socialism," but the off-campus group was antagonized by it. The other terms had little effect. A control group that merely repeated the first questionnaire showed very little change in its reactions.

The night-school students, librarians and social workers were so afraid of the stereotypes on the second questionnaire that many of them refused to answer it at all, in spite of every possible assurance from the experimenter that they would remain unknown. Those who did complete the experiment showed a more pronounced reaction to the stereotypes than did the college students. This is important, since these groups were a more representative cross-section of the general public than were the campus groups.

Party labels and stereotyped words, then, do have great influence in molding our political judgments. The emotional tone of stereotypes is a result of years of social training. Most of our lives we have been taught that the flag we saluted stood for "liberty and justice for all," and that the Constitution for which our forefathers fought, bled and died is the ultimate guide to freedom in this the greatest land on earth; that all "alien" political theories are "undemocratic" and "un-American." When an idea is tied up to one of these words or phrases, we often react emotionally to the stereotype, rather than rationally to the idea.

Politicians and newspapers have often utilized stereotypes in controlling public opinion. The fascists have been cleverest at using this psychological truth as a ring in the public's nose. In Germany emotional catch-phrases against the Jews, the Communists and the Versailles Treaty were an important means by which Hitler rallied middle-class support. In America, similar appeals to patriotism, race and class prejudice are made by fascist groups. To be successful, however, fascists must abjure the name itself. Thus, Mr. Hearst and others take their stand against socialism, communism and fascism, while they spread fascist ideas and justify the behavior of the fascist dictators. If fascism comes to America it will have to be called "Americanism," "Constitutionalism" or some like name to win support. The only recourse of the anti-fascists would be to analyze and publicize the fascist content of such movements and label them as such.

The terms "Radical," "Socialist" and "Communist" hurled by reactionaries at the Roosevelt administration are ridiculous, but probably have some effect on the millions who read newspaper editorials while riding on the morning street cars. These labels are undoubtedly more effective when they are applied to labor. Thus, in many strikes the newspaper publicity goes through a fairly definite cycle, starting with "Strike Threatened," and rising through "Thousands Lost in Wages," "Public Suffers," "Labor Refuses to End Strike," "Communists Exposed in Unions," to a rousing climax, "Police Rout Reds in Picket Line."

The experiment indicates that the failure of left-wing groups to gain support these past few years is due partially to their emphasis on names and phrases that antagonize the public. That it is possible to avoid these errors without abandoning basic political philosophies is shown by the success of the People's Front in France. In the recent electoral campaign there, stereotypes were used to advantage —as, for example, the traditions of the French Revolution and the Paris Commune, and the claiming of the "Marseillaise" as the people's own song.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In like manner, the realistic approach for those interested in social reconstruction in America, or anywhere else in the world, would be to recognize the effects of stereotypes and to behave accordingly.

SELDEN C. MENEFEE.

The Communist Convention

THE ARMIES of reporters, news photographers and broadcasters who flocked to Cleveland and Philadelphia and were bored to death by the dull, cut-and-dried proceedings dished out by the Republicans and Democrats should have come instead to the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party of America. For here they would have had something new and different to report to their audiences—something that I suspect may eventually have far more significance than anything that happened at either of the two old-party meetings.

This was the first public convention that the Communists have held, and it marked the beginning of a serious attempt by the left-wing forces to make their appeal in an American way, in accordance with American political traditions. You sensed this, in part, from the slogans that decorated the balcony of the Manhattan Opera House. They had a tone that was definitely native: "For a Free, Happy, Prosperous America." Another, which suggested a happy marriage between the revolutionary spirit and American advertising technique, announced that "Communism Is Twentieth Century Americanism." This was, in a very real sense, the keynote of the convention, emphasized and reëmphasized by nearly every speaker. Most indicative of all, I think, were the acceptance speeches of Earl Browder and James W. Ford, the party's nominees for President and Vice President. Both were free from even a passing reference to Marx, Lenin, Stalin or any similar figure. They were wholly in terms of the American scene. Browder was presented to the 25,000 who jammed Madison Square Garden for the nominations not as an aspiring Stalin of the United States but as "the new John Brown from Osawatomie."

If this new attitude, this stressing of the American revolutionary tradition, were merely a superficial front or a clever strategy to sugar-coat a pill that American workers and farmers have been reluctant to swallow, it would, of course, be of dubious value. The fact is, however, that it was not merely a party dress put on for a special purpose. It reflected a fundamental change in the membership of the Communist Party itself. In the past two years its membership has grown rapidly, from 25,000 to 40,000, while that of the Young Communist League rose from 5,000 to 11,000. For the combined groups this is an increase of 66 percent since 1934, or 500 percent since 1929. With this growth, small though it is in actual numbers, the party has become increasingly representative of farm and labor groups throughout the country. This was immediately apparent in the 750 delegates, the overwhelming majority of whom were native-born and 88 percent of whom claimed a proletarian origin. They were strikingly youthful—two-thirds of them under thirty-five years of age—a large proportion were members of the American Federation of Labor and eighty-five of them were union officials. It was a gathering that must have embarrassed Mr. Hearst and the Red-baiters. Their favorite revolutionist with long whiskers and a bomb in his back pocket was not present. Here were clean-cut, hard-hitting American workers, and if they had been sent back where they came from, it would have been to the mines, mills and factories of the several states.

It was not altogether surprising, accordingly, that the underlying theme of the speeches and reports for five days was one of Americanized mass action. "We have to win the great masses who do not know us," said Mr. Browder, "and we must learn to work among them convincingly to prove our ideals to them by patient, persuasive, stubborn and systematized work." To judge from the expressions of the delegates and from the two-and-a-half-hour report made by Browder to the convention, that is to be done through an American approach to the problems of workers and farmers, with a soft-pedal on quotations from Marxian authorities whom most Americans have never heard of, much less understood. The Communists, through the experience of ever widening activity in the labor movement, are learning to say the same thing, and much more effectively, in phrases that are readily acceptable. The party's 1936 program, discussed in last week's New Republic, emphasizes the defense of democratic rights, increased organization of labor and the urgency of forming an American People's Front to fight the threat of fascism. It is entering the campaign, it declares, "to defend and promote the unity of the working people . . . to fight for their interests . . . to build the Farmer Labor Party, and, finally, to win the masses to the banner of socialism. The chief aim of the Communist Party today is to defeat the Landon-Hearst Liberty League reaction."

In one respect at least, the convention was something of a letdown from the shows put on by the Democrats and Republicans. There were no bombastic orators here boasting of the magnificent, stupendous and unparalleled achievements of the party. Achievements—where made—were duly noted and *criticized*. "We want no boasting," said Earl Browder, "no inflated ego, no self-satisfaction, no resting on our laurels." Strange people, these Communists, and very unpolitical. Yet the demonstration accorded Browder at the Garden when his name was placed in nomination was extraordinary. Compared with the hollow and labored noisemaking of the old parties, here was an enthusiasm so obviously genuine and infectious that it had even those at the press tables standing on their chairs and cheering. You got the feeling that this was a new and vital force taking its place in American political life and that, given a little time, it was really going places.

WILLIAM P. MANGOLD.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

Farley and Civil-Service Reform—Party Man and Glad-Hander Par Excellence—The Unique Mr. Burdick

APPARENTLY Postmaster General Farley is at last to be parted from his paneled office, his marble-and-glass shower, his official limousine. It would be untrue, however, to call his resignation, if it takes place, a triumph for civil-service reform. He will continue to be chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and, as such, will have much the same functions he has always had. In any case, however, the blame for "Farleyism" belongs to Mr. Roosevelt, not to Jim. It can be argued successfully, I think, that there has been no worse breakdown in the civil service under Mr. Roosevelt than there was in 1920, when the Republicans took over from the Wilson administration. But this is like saying that the barber's itch is no worse than poison ivy. Mr. Roosevelt has been the effective boss of the Democratic Party since 1933, and he has yet to take the first step toward the creation of a real civil service.

There has been an effort by delicate-stomached New Dealers to place the responsibility for this failure on Mr. Farley. It has been hinted that Mr. Roosevelt is, at heart, an ardent believer in building up a corps of civil servants, and that he has been frustrated by Mr. Farley's sinister maneuvers. This is a fairy tale. Since the death of Colonel Louis Howe, Mr. Roosevelt himself has decided all major questions of jobs and party strategy. Jim has never been more than a trusted helper, a sort of head gardener of the patronage crop. He has never opposed Mr. Roosevelt on anything. His devotion to him approaches idolatry.

Jim's specialty is the healing of minor party quarrels, at which he has had great success. He believes devoutly in the Heaven-ordained superiority of the Democrats. He is ready to make any sacrifice for the party within reason—he has twice surrendered his ambition to run for New York Governor—and expects others to do the same. When a county chairman falls out with his state committee over the appointment of a United States marshal, Jim decides the dispute with the impartiality of an archangel and a single eye to victory on election day. Jim has small vanities, but when party questions are at stake, neither vanity, nor church and fraternal connections, family relationships, old friendships, can budge him a hair's breadth.

This primitive group-idealism, exemplified in Jim, is more common than many civil-service advocates suspect. They incline to think of politicians as moved solely by a lust to be on the government payroll. This is not altogether true. There must be several million Americans with an obscurely religious feeling about the Democratic or Republican Party. It may be that civil-service reform will fail to make rapid progress until this group-feeling can be dammed off in some sort of emotional reservoir. As far as Jim is concerned, the only good Republican is a dead one. He has the same intolerant scorn for civil-service advocates who hold Democrats and Republicans of equal worthiness that a mountaineer Baptist has for atheists.

Almost certainly the basis of Mr. Farley's colossal dislike of Secretary Ickes is not Mr. Ickes' refusal to let him control jobs in the Interior Department—he has had more serious difficulties with Mr. Morgenthau, whom he greatly esteems—but Mr. Ickes' Republicanism. In Mr. Farley's opinion, the fact that Mr. Ickes is now a member of Mr. Roosevelt's Cabinet makes him not a Democrat, but a Benedict Arnold. Mr. Roosevelt's indecisive attitude toward the second public-works program a year ago was interpreted by Mr. Farley as carte-blanche to lobby against Mr. Ickes' P.W.A. in Congress, and he was at least partly responsible for the fact that the major part of the $4,000,000,000 relief appropriation of 1935 went to the W.P.A. of Mr. Hopkins instead of for genuine public works.

Besides his skill in settling small party disputes, Mr. Farley has great gifts as a glad-hander. In remembering names he has the same uncanny powers shown by vaudeville performers who multiply six-figure numbers in their heads or play any piece of music of which the audience can whistle the first few notes. It is difficult to estimate the number of people whom Mr. Farley can call by their first names, but it must run into the tens of thousands. His secretary, Mr. William Bray, tells of a man in a small Pennsylvania city who was on a reception committee to welcome Mr. Farley, and who three years later appeared in the Post Office building in Washington, offering to bet that Mr. Farley couldn't remember him. Put on his mettle, Mr. Farley greeted the man by his first name, gave the names of fourteen other members of the reception committee, recalled the hotel where they had had lunch, and described the menu. He then recited the names of the speakers at the lunch and the gist of what they had said, and finished by asking his open-mouthed visitor about the health of his children, correctly naming their number and sex.

During the first furious months after Mr. Roosevelt's inauguration, Mr. Farley managed to see—or speak over the telephone to—several hundred people a day. To accomplish this, he and Mr. Bray developed a highly organized technique. Important officials and party leaders were herded into a small anteroom, and pushed through a door into Mr. Farley's private office at the rate of about one a minute. The theory was that each newcomer would drive out the man preceding him, which was what usually happened. Punctually every hour, Mr. Farley would interrupt the stream of callers, and go to a large reception room, where politicians of lesser rank had been lined up along the walls. He would make the circuit of the room at a dog-trot, invariably greeting every man he had seen before by his first name and giving a definite answer to each hastily mumbled request. He would then return to his office, and spend five or ten minutes on the long-distance telephone. Special operators arranged the calls beforehand, so that each one could be switched to Mr. Farley's telephone without a split-second's delay. After this, the procession of individual callers from the small anteroom would begin again, and this hourly routine would continue late into the evening.

For uniqueness, however, Mr. Farley has a close rival in Representative Usher L. Burdick of North Dakota, campaign manager for Mr. Lemke and the new Union Party. Mr. Burdick, a Non-Partisan League stalwart, was brought up near the Sioux Indian reservation, and has turned his Washington office into a sort of showroom, where he helps his old friends sell moccasins and other

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Indian trinkets. He has a farm outside Washington where he sometimes lives Indian fashion, cooking his own meals and tending a flock of goats. In 1903-04, he was right-end on the University of Minnesota football team, and, except perhaps for Mr. Hamilton Fish, who played for Harvard, is the most powerfully built man in Congress. He is the author of a number of books, one a history of the Sioux.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

The Stock Exchange "Studies" Margins—Who Does the Speculating?—Margins Are Too Low Now—A Word of Advice

THE Stock Exchange is gravely disturbed because trading is being restricted by the margin rules of the Federal Reserve Board. To prove this it has just made a study of margin accounts and announced the results to the world. The "study" reveals the fact that about 31 percent of outstanding margin accounts were restricted because the margins were already so low that customers could not trade any more. Another 11 percent that was close to being restricted was found.

Of course the meaning of this is merely that those who were gambling in stocks in the period studied didn't have enough money or collateral to gamble any more. What we are to do about this grave public crisis will depend on how we approach the subject. The Federal Reserve Board has established certain margin requirements. It requires a speculator on margin to put up a margin of 55 percent. That is, when he gambles on stocks he must supply 55 percent of every $100 he wagers on the market. On the race tracks the gambler must put up the entire $100 and the same sound rule holds true in that other noble form of speculation known as crap-shooting. That should be the rule in the great casino down in Wall and Broad Streets. But it is not. A very generous government permits these birds to operate on a 55-percent margin.

Of course it is quite obvious, and no study is necessary to establish it, that speculators could do more gambling on 30-percent margins than on 50-percent margins. It is also reasonable to suppose that the 55-percent margin is acting as a restriction on a number of people who cannot afford to put up any more. Was that not the object of the rule—to restrict speculation?

But another fact emerges from this report of the Exchange. There has been quite a bit of speculation lately in spite of the margin rules. But who is doing it? Are the mythical bootblacks and barber-shop Kreugers back in the market? Stock speculation, we have been told many times, is carried on by the nation *en masse*. I always doubted the existence of these bootblack plungers. In fact, in the Pecora investigation I discovered the total number of persons carrying margin accounts—which are speculative accounts—in 1929, the year of mad speculation, was 559,934. This was the total number of separate accounts for the year.

During the period from January to September, 1933, the total number of margin accounts was 432,115. Obviously many accounts last for a month or two, then disappear for several months. The number of accounts on brokers' books on any given day would be less than the total number of separate accounts throughout a year.

The Pecora study showed that on July 31, 1929, there were 340,019 separate accounts. Those were the good old days when you could horn into the market on a shoestring. They were also the days when speculation was not merely very active but had gone mad. Yet there were only 340,000 margin accounts. Now the Exchange reveals there were at the end of May, 205,884 accounts. Considering the difference between 1929 and 1936, I should think the deficit would be easily accounted for. But it is interesting to be told that in a nation of 130,000,000 gambling maniacs, only 205,000 are maintaining margin accounts with brokers.

If we go back to June, 1933, the comparison is more interesting. There was no Stock Exchange Act then to restrict speculators. And in the months of June and July there was that craziest of all stock-market booms—the famous Roosevelt boom—which in July produced a bigger total of stock sales than in any other month, with two exceptions, in the history of the Exchange. Yet then there were 269,915 margin accounts on brokers' books. The figure today compares very favorably when we realize that there are restrictions and that there is not the feverish speculation of June, 1933.

But even more interesting is this fact. The S.E.C., in its recent report on segregation of broker functions, brought out the fact that in the period it studied—July to December, 1935—total trading of shares on the Exchange was 7,014,900 shares. During that time members of the New York Stock Exchange—excluding specialist traders in their own stocks—bought 2,464,060 shares and sold 2,577,110 shares. They therefore made around 35 percent of all purchases and sales. That is, they were on one side or the other of the market in 70 percent of the transactions.

It is perfectly plain, therefore, that the bulk of the trading being done in this market is the work of the members of the Exchange and the professional groups that operate around it and in alliance with them; that the public participation is made up of only a very small number of people whose gambling operations are curtailed by the requirement of margins; and that the Exchange now wants the Reserve Board, which rules our banking system and is charged with guarding the integrity and soundness of our banking system, to open up the faucets wider in order to let more of this bank credit flow into the market to enable these two or three hundred thousand speculators to whip up the speculative markets some more.

It is a pretty fair guess, I hope, that the Reserve System is going to do no such thing. As a matter of fact, margins are too low now, because they are not in fact 55 percent. That is the initial margin that must be supplied when entering the market. But if the market declines, the Board permits the margin rate to decline with it to an indefensible figure before brokers are required to call for more collateral.

I am not, of course, employed by the Stock Exchange to give it advice. But I will offer some gratis. They would do well to say as little as possible about this margin subject right now. I know something of the sentiment in Washington in both Houses on the matter of margins. Many of the most conservative members are deeply in favor of restricting them further. This subject is a hot brick for the Exchange. They would do well to drop it. JOHN T. FLYNN.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some Salaries and Wages

THE TABLE that appears below has been compiled by The New Republic from two sets of official figures in Washington. The figures for officials' salaries are drawn from the records of the S.E.C. Those for the wages in the same industries are taken from "Employment and Pay Rolls," compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The individual named in the second column is the officer receiving the highest total compensation in 1935. In most cases, he is the chairman or president of the company. The average weekly wage, given for February, 1936, is in each case for the industry in which the major part of the company's business lies.

Name of Company	*Name of Officer*	*His Total Salary in 1935*	*Average Wage in Industry Feb. 1936*
Addressograph-Multigraph	James E. Rogers	40,800	22.27
Allegheny Steel	W. P. Detweiler	111,704	24.60
Allied Chemical and Dye	H. F. Atherton	100,000	25.52
Amerada	A. Jacobsen	50,250	29.53
American Bank Note	D. E. Woodhull	48,110	28.22
American Chain	Walter B. Lasher	50,300	25.22
American Chicle	T. H. Blodgett	75,000	21.49
American Machine & Fdry.	R. L. Patterson	189,000	24.16
American News New York	Harry Gould	40,000	23.00
American Rolling Mill	George M. Verity	69,124	24.60
American Safety Razor	Milton Dammann	60,240	24.16
American Smelting & Refining	F. H. Brownell	100,000	22.60
American Snuff	Martin J. Condon	54,080	14.87
American Sugar Refining	Earl D. Babst	77,240	21.88
American Tobacco	George W. Hill	304,398	13.76
American Woolen	Lionel J. Noah	85,450	18.18
Anaconda Copper Mining	C. F. Kelley	168,138	23.58
Anchor Cap	I. R. Stewart	55,833	20.59
Art Metal Works	Louis V. Aronson	47,160	23.38
Associated Oil	Wm. F. Humphrey	48,135	28.07
Associated Gas & Electric	J. I. Range	58,755	31.45
Atlantic Gulf and West Indies Steamship Lines	F. D. Mooney	59,692	——
Atlantic Refining	J. W. Van Dyke	100,000	29.53
Brooklyn Edison	John C. Parker	43,297	31.45
Brooklyn Union Gas	James H. Jourdan	69,030	31.45
Barnsdall Oil	Edwin B. Reeser	50,050	29.53
Bendix Aviation	Vincent Bendix	55,121	25.45
Beneficial Industrial Loan	Charles H. Watts	68,715	23.00
Bethlehem Steel	Chas. M. Schwab	203,332	24.60
Bigelow-Sanford Carpet	John A. Sweetser	60,750	20.15
Bon Ami	H. D. Crippen	40,220	23.72
Bristol-Myers	Henry P. Bristol	53,381	20.82
Caterpillar Tractor	B. C. Heacock	42,200	27.20
Century Ribbon Mills	Herman Levy	55,190	14.44
Checker Cab Manufacturing	Morris Markin	44,729	24.64
Chicago Mail Order	E. M. Schnadig	50,000	18.13
Chile Copper	C. F. Kelley	50,600	23.58
Cluett, Peabody	C. R. Palmer	48,250	12.53
Coca-Cola	R. W. Woodruff	100,500	29.05
Columbia Gas and Electric	Philip G. Gossler	90,200	31.45
Commercial Credit	A. E. Duncan	65,000	23.00
Commercial Investment Trust	Henry Ittleson	100,160	23.00
Commercial Solvents	Wm. D. Ticknor	71,309	25.52
Consolidated Cigar	Julius Lichenstein	90,000	13.76
Consolidated Film Industries	H. J. Yates	75,200	——
Consolidated Oil	H. F. Sinclair	126,659	29.53
Continental Can	O. C. Huffman	74,145	20.59
Continental Insurance	Ernest Sturm	96,734	38.45
Continental Oil	Dan Moran	79,166	29.53
Crown Cork and Seal	Chas. E. McManus	50,149	20.59
Crowley, Milner	James B. Jones	45,000	20.85
Cuneo Press	John F. Cuneo	54,000	28.22
Curtis Publishing	G. H. Lorimer	90,500	33.68
Detroit Edison	Alex Dow	82,086	31.45
Diamond Match	W. A. Fairburn	100,000	23.48
Eastman Kodak	Frank W. Lovejoy	109,148	——
The Fair	D. F. Kelly	60,000	20.85
Fanny Farmer Candy Shops	Frank P. O'Connor	40,000	15.98
Federal Water Service	C. T. Chenery	57,864	——
Fidelity-Phenix Fire Insurance of New York	Ernest Sturm	96,734	38.45
Marshall Field	John McKinlay	65,000	27.77
Freeport Texas	L. M. Williams	40,340	15.98
General Cigar	Fred Hirschhorn	75,182	13.76
General Railway Signal	W. W. Salmon	50,000	23.54
Gillette Safety Razor	S. C. Stamplemann	60,000	24.14
Gotham Silk Hosiery	Roy E. Tilles	40,000	16.36
W. T. Grant	Benjamin A. Row	68,370	20.85
George W. Helme	John C. Flynn	56,705	13.76
Hercules Powder	R. H. Dunham	58,800	25.54
Hershey Chocolate	Wm. F. R. Murrie	91,550	15.98
Houdaille-Hershey	Claire L. Barnes	44,833	24.64
Household Finance	B. E. Henderson	79,118	23.00
Howe Sound	Wm. J. Quigly	75,000	23.38
Industrial Rayon	Hiram S. Rivitz	75,000	20.00
Ingersoll-Rand	George Doubleday	78,000	27.87
Inland Steel	Leopold E. Block	60,000	24.60
Interlake Iron	C. D. Caldwell	41,564	23.58
Intern'l Business Machines	T. J. Watson	506,769	28.60
International Mining	H. W. Chadbourne	41,857	23.58
Island Creek Coal	T. B. Davis	40,140	24.90
Jewel Tea	M. H. Karker	105,846	29.05
Johns-Manville	Lewis H. Brown	62,316	17.58
Jones and Laughlin Steel	G. M. Laughlin	49,609	24.60
Kaufmann Dept. Stores	E. J. Kaufmann	80,166	20.85
Kennecott Copper	E. T. Stannard	75,480	23.58
Kimberly-Clark	F. J. Sensenbrenner	75,735	21.71
Kroger Grocery & Baking	Albert H. Morrill	93,718	20.85
Lehn and Fink Products	Edward Plant	93,533	20.82
Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass	J. D. Biggers	47,500	20.91
P. Lorillard	Benjamin L. Belt	50,000	13.76
Ludlum Steel	H. G. Batcheller	54,909	24.60
MacAndrews and Forbes	W. L. Geddes	49,782	21.49
McKeesport Tin Plate	E. R. Crawford	225,416	20.59
Mead Johnson	L. D. Johnson	46,813	21.49
Mesta Machine	L. Iversen	43,620	27.87
Midland Steel Products	E. J. Kulas	60,000	24.60
Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator	Harold W. Sweatt	45,000	23.54
Mohawk Carpet Mills	A. W. Shuttleworth	50,000	20.15
Murray of America	C. W. Avery	49,999	24.64
National Dairy Products	T. H. M'Innerney	108,680	21.49
Newmont Mining	H. S. Monroe	42,060	23.58
Ohio Oil	C. D. Dannell	45,000	28.07
Otis Elevator	J. H. Van Alstyne	64,608	23.54
Owens-Illinois Glass	Wiliam E. Levis	100,000	20.91
Pan American Petroleum and Transport	Louis Blaustein	65,050	29.53
Parke, Davis	O. W. Smith	45,000	20.82
Patiño Mines and Enterprises	J. C. Pickering	54,133	23.58
Peoples Drug Stores	M. G. Gibbs	50,000	20.85
Pet Milk	Wm. T. Nardin	55,744	14.24
Philadelphia (Company)	F. R. Phillips	49,688	23.00
Philadelphia Electric	W. H. Taylor	61.528	31.45
Phillips Jones	A. S. Phillips	44,119	12.53
Pittsburgh Coal	J. D. A. Morrow	45,000	24.90
Pullman	D. A. Crawford	74,800	22.35
Pure Oil	Henry M. Dawes	55,250	29.53
Revere Copper and Brass	C. Donald Dallas	60,000	23.38

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Name of Company	Name of Officer	His Total Salary in 1935	Average Wage in Industry Feb. 1936
Reynolds Metal	R. S. Reynolds	71,176	22.60
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco	S. Clay Williams	60,000	13.76
Royal Typewriter	E. C. Faustmann	40,159	22.27
Safeway Stores	L. A. Warren	40,000	20.85
Schenley Distillers	Louis E. Golan	107,525	29.05
The Schiff (Company)	Robert W. Schiff	74,714	20.85
Seaboard Oil of Delaware	John M. Lovejoy	40,220	28.07
Sharon Steel	Henry A. Roemer	89,000	24.60
Sharp & Dohme	A. Homer Smith	47,824	20.82
Simmons	Grant G. Simmons	42,400	17.84
Skelly Oil	W. G. Skelly	48,000	29.53
Standard Brands	Joseph Wilshire	152,689	14.24
Sonotone	Dean Babbitt	41,447	23.54
Southern California Edison	Harry J. Bauer	45,504	31.45
Spiegel-May Stern	Modie J. Spiegel	60,000	27.77
Standard Oil of Kansas	C. B. Wrightsman	53,476	29.53
Standard Oil (New Jersey)	W. C. Teagle	125,000	28.07
Standard Oil (Ohio)	W. T. Holliday	81,000	29.53
Sterling Products	W. E. Weiss	90,700	20.82
Stone and Webster	George Muhlfeld	40,560	23.00
Studebaker	Harold S. Vance	41,428	24.64
Sun Oil	J. Edgar Pew	78,869	29.53
Symington	C. J. Symington	42,800	28.10
Texas Gulf Sulphur	W. H. Aldridge	50,600	15.98
Tide Water Associated Oil	W. F. Humphrey	63,635	29.53
Tide Water Oil	E. L. Shea	53,057	29.53
Twentieth-Century-Fox Films	W. R. Sheehan	269,230	——
Underwood Elliot Fisher	P. D. Wagoner	108,480	22.27
Union Electric Light and Power (Missouri)	Louis H. Egan	55,320	31.45
Union Tank Car	Lauren J. Drake	67,500	22.35
United Aircraft	T. F. Hamilton	104,597	25.45
United Corporation	Geo. H. Howard	75,000	23.00
United Drug	L. K. Liggett	72,371	20.85
United Fruit	Francis R. Hart	58,500	21.49
United Gas Improvement	J. E. Zimmermann	90,833	31.45
United States Rubber	F. B. Davis	125,220	22.80
United States Smelting, Refining and Mining	C. A. Hight	60,170	22.60
United States Tobacco	John M. Devoe	65,463	13.76
Van Raalte	I. K. Hessberg	49,002	16.12
Westinghouse Airbrake	A. L. Humphrey	50,400	24.16
Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing	A. W. Robertson	91,100	23.54
Youngstown Sheet & Tube	Frank Purnell	60,000	24.60

The Bandwagon

It will simplify our thinking if we realize that when an act of Congress is rejected [by the Supreme Court] it is the Constitution which is speaking. That means, in turn, that it is the people speaking.—*U. S. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, quoted in "Case and Comment."*

At one of these meetings, according to the story, General von Seeckt is said to have made what evidently was intended to be a comradely and complimentary speech. He said, in effect, that another war was inevitable, and that he only hoped that its survivors would be able to meet afterward in the same fraternal and harmonious spirit that "we survivors of the last war are demonstrating here."—*News item in The New York Times.*

God Appeals to Business Men to Save America, Oxford Group Tells Assembly. Stockbridge, Mass., May 31.—"The clergymen have failed to save America—it is up to the business men to do it now," Frank N. D. Buchman, leader-in-chief of the Oxford Group movement, told the national assembly gathered here today.—*The Hartford Courant.*

There is no unemployment problem in America. It is merely a reëmployment problem.—*Address by Colonel Willard T. Chevalier, president, Road Builders' Association, before the Commonwealth Club of California, as reported in The San Francisco Bulletin.*

Villanova, Pa., May 13.—Poison gas is a "humane instrument of war," the Reverend Julius A. Niewland, discoverer of synthetic rubber, said in an address preceding award of the Mendel Medal to him for outstanding contribution to science.—*News item in The New York Daily News.*

Our Get Together with Yourselves Department

There has been a lot of talk about technological unemployment—a discouraging word coined from the depression. There are factory jobs for a lot of you, and many more opportunities outside the factories if you will seek them out. For every service job that existed a generation ago, there are thousands now. You are living in a great age of opportunity.—*Editorial, "To the Graduates," in The Detroit News.*

Long-Time Relief Program Needed for Northern Michigan. What is the future for Michigan's stranded population, once busy in mines and lumber camps but now too often on the relief rolls? Relief Commission reports from 45 to 75 percent of residents of Upper Peninsula on the relief rolls. —*News item in the same issue of the same paper.*

Send Them Back Where They Came From

Along with other alien peoples in the United States, the Indians continued to be a problem.—*New York Regents' Review Book on American History and Civics.*

The Passionate Yes-Man

"Are you for American Business? Do you believe that the old pioneer philosophy of hard work and enterprise is a practical thing in these modern times? Do you believe that, in our democracy, in the long run, the individual, whether he be employer or mechanic, Jew or Gentile, is usually rewarded by society in proportion to the contribution he makes?"

If the reply is a passionate "Yes," I feel that the writer has certain indispensable basic qualifications for business literature.—*John T. Bartlett in an article entitled "Some Things Editors Like in Business Articles" in the June, 1936, Author and Journalist.*

Ethics

Meanwhile other sponsors have pointed out that Eddie [Cantor] might have avoided all the embarrassment over the fake essay of the young Missouri lad if he had not made public its text. It was this that brought about the exposé by the real author.—*From the column of radio news in The Chicago Tribune.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic.—The Editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

"Roadtown"

SIR: I am saddened by your story of Edgar Chambless' suicide ["Suicide of a Dreamer," The New Republic, July 1] which comes to me as the first news of his death. The newspapers out here apparently did not consider it an event of importance.

From time to time I did what little I could to spread an interest in "Roadtown." Possibly your readers might be interested to have reproduced a paragraph from "The Brass Check," as follows:

> All these are positive acts; and now for a moment consider the negative—the good things that newspapers might do and don't! I could write a volume dealing with plans and social possibilities known to me, whereby the life of mankind might be made over; but you might as well start to fly to the moon as ask a capitalist newspaper to take these things up. For example, the idea of a coöperative home, as tried at Helicon Hall; or the idea set forth by Edgar Chambless in his book "Roadtown." Did you ever hear of "Roadtown"? The chances are ninety-nine out of a hundred that you never did. If you are near a library, you may look it up in The Independent, May 5, 1910. I will say in brief that it is a plan which won the approval of the best engineers, to build a city in a way that would save 70 percent of the necessary labor of mankind forever after, and increase by several hundred percent the total of human happiness. You did not find this plan "boosted" by capitalist newspapers—because its inventor sternly refused all propositions to exploit it for profit, and insisted upon preserving the idea for the free use and benefit of humanity.

Let me add the suggestion that the book "Roadtown" has been out of print for many years. Is there not some publisher in New York who would be interested to reprint it and thus help in keeping a vitally important idea alive until the time comes when our society has reached a high enough level of intelligence to make it possible for the idea to be carried into effect?

Pasadena, Calif. UPTON SINCLAIR.

Chain Stores, Viewed with Alarm

SIR: Mr. McKean's article on "The Spread of Chain Store Taxes" [May 27, 1936] evidences the same unexpected solicitude for the interests of the consumer that may be found in the testimony of the chain-store lobbyists who appeared before congressional committees in opposition to the Robinson-Patman Bill. It is undoubtedly a coincidence that this well of sympathy and understanding remained untapped until chain-store taxes began eating into chain-store profits.

Mr. McKean, it cannot be denied, is an able advocate on behalf of the chains. A more judicial presentation, however, would have considered the fact that some states have imposed special excises not to handicap chains but to equalize the tax load between chains and independents. Wisconsin belongs in this group. So also it might have been wiser had Mr. McKean been less summary with those who see danger in economic elephantiasis. Among his readers are some who feel that size gives power—political and economic—that no private enterprise should have. The massed wealth and economic power of the corporate chains, which control one-half of the retail food industry in this country, may now transcend the power of government. Concentration of ownership tends to merger, and monopoly, benevolent though it may be, might yield less than abundant profit to the consumer. Control of outlets has given the chains power to control production, and the vertical combination leaves no place for the middle men of the present system. Such simplification may be worth while, but the results should be weighed. Nor have chain practices been free from criticism. Is there truth in the charge that chains are guilty of misbranding, of misleading packaging, of unfair price policies or maintaining low wage scales and long working hours for labor? What contributions do the chains make to civic improvement? Local charity? Local industry? Is it mere "emotional argument" that the chains are destructive of individual initiative and self-reliance and independence? Thirty million people depend on small business for their livelihood. Will the chains ensure their future?

Washington, D. C. DAVID GINSBURG.

SIR: It seems to me that it is in the interest of consumers to obtain low prices. Chain stores owe their success to the low prices they have given consumers. If chain-store taxes take up the savings in distribution that have made the lower prices possible, then it is not a misplaced solicitude for consumers for me to object to them. There is plenty of evidence that the quality of chain-store products is, on the whole, fully equal to that of other retailers.

Space did not permit in the original article, and does not permit here, a full discussion of the monopoly bogey, but it seems to me not very dangerous when the Census of Distribution in 1931 found 7,046 chain-store companies which operated only about 10 percent of all retail stores. When the chains are able to induce people to buy at higher prices than those charged by other retail stores, it will be time enough to worry about monopoly.

The labor, price, civic and charitable policies of the chains will be found to be much the same as those of other retailers. They buy as much from local producers as others do—and they pay cash. I do not know how much more individual initiative, independence and self-reliance is to be gained by clerking in one kind of store than in another, but I do know that the chains are able and willing to reward ability.

Princeton, N. J. DAYTON D. MCKEAN.

Recognition for Kagawa

SIR: You have taken no notice of the visit of Toyohiko Kagawa to America. He is certainly worthy of attention in such a journal as yours. Ardent Christian, sincere patriot, a lover of the masses as are few in our generation, pacifist, humanitarian and scholar, he is, it seems to me, one of the outstanding men of our time.

No one else has faced so courageously the problems raised by Marx anent a Christian social order. A devoted disciple of Christ, Kagawa has had the good sense and courage to see value in communistic principles.

Prestonsburg, Ky. ROBERT A. POTTER.

Disfranchising Political Minorities

SIR: An article in The New Republic of June 3 described and tabulated the methods by which minority political groups are disfranchised in this country. Now we need letters and articles from citizens of various states to explain how such legislation originated and the way in which the laws are applied. Such reports will show, the writer thinks, something close to conspiracy.

Take, for example, the case of North Carolina. The Socialists, seeking to place their ticket on the ballot in 1932, were told that a total of 10,000 signatures would be necessary. (One election-board official, since that time appointed to high national office in the judiciary, apologized for the high requirement by saying, "We hafta do somethin' to keep the Communists off, 'cause they've got a nigger on the ticket!") But the Socialists were game, at great expense and time obtained the 10,000 signatures, and thereby got their presidential electors on the ballot. Apparently playing for the votes of the liberals in the state, Democratic politicians (among them the chairman of the election board) publicly announced that in the next legislative session there would come into being a new election law that "would treat minority parties more fairly."

And here is what they did. Whereas in 1932 the 10,000 names required had to be merely voters of the state, in the new "fair election law," such signers are required to declare themselves *members* of the party in question and have to promise to help organize the same. Now since most of our North Carolina Socialists are workers (there were 5,591 Socialist ballots in 1932), very few

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would dare risk their jobs by thus openly declaring their party affiliation. Obviously, the Communists are even worse off. The effect, therefore, is virtual disfranchisement.

With such laws and officials the country over, the possibilities for a new anti-reaction (Farmer Labor?) party in 1940 are extremely slight. The pot-bellied politicians in the various state capitals have attended to that.

Chapel Hill, N. C. E. E. Ericson.

The Case of Robert Burke

SIR: The dismissal of Robert Burke, a student at Columbia University, appears to be another evidence of the University's capitulation to pressure. Last spring six students and three technicians were ousted from the Columbia Medical Center for anti-war activity. Now Burke—president of the senior class and 160-pound Golden Glove boxing champion of New York—has been denied readmission to the University. Although the letter of dismissal cites no specific charges, there is evidence to believe that Burke's case arises specifically from the student protest against Columbia's acceptance of the Heidelberg bid and generally from his work in the American Student Union. Shortly after the Heidelberg protest, which terminated in a demonstration outside President Butler's house and was marred by the rioting of some juvenile crew-men, Burke received word that his status was in doubt. Now, with the university disbanded, he has been dropped from the rolls. Burke was working his way through college, had achieved a satisfactory academic record and was probably the most popular member of his class. Unless investigation disproves what appear to be sound charges, Columbia's visit to Heidelberg may be more than casually symbolic. Meanwhile, the case merits swift inquiry by responsible groups. Pressure from the Left is the only hope for an alteration of Columbia's polite but firm technique of exile—a technique that undoubtedly influences academic life in the rest of the country.

James Wechsler,
Director of Publications,
New York City. the American Student Union.

Farmer-Labor Forces in Wisconsin

SIR: The Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation of Wisconsin has emerged from its first annual convention minus a nominee for Governor but still in one piece. It has proved to its own members and to the rest of the country that it intends to go right ahead and form a real Farmer-Labor Party looking toward a national party in 1940. And if the La Follettes don't want to come along, that's their hard luck. . . .

The greatest problem which the convention faced was what to do with Phil La Follette. The Governor has refused to join the Federation, and the constitution stipulates that only members, who are pledged to abide by the principles and discipline of the organization, may be endorsed. . . .

Realizing that to run a candidate against La Follette meant to split the Federation and almost certainly to elect a Republican or Democrat, the convention chose the lesser of two evils and left the place blank, making it quite clear that the Governor need expect no help in his campaign from the Federation. Several delegates declared their intention of leaving their ballots blank for Governor. But he will of course win the primary nomination and probably the election. . . .

The more conservative Progressives were forced to accept a compromise on the matter of program. They made an attempt to have the slogan "Production for Use" cut out of the Declaration of Principles, covering their fear of its socialistic implications by saying that it was not clear. The phrase remains in the Declarations of Principles and the subject is covered and clarified in the platform in the plank on public corporations. . . .

In addition the convention voted down unanimously a motion to endorse the new Union Party headed by Representative William Lemke, and passed almost without dissent a resolution to bar all known Communists from membership.

Andrew J. Biemiller.

Milwaukee, Wis.

The Letters of Clarence Day

SIR: I am collecting the letters of Clarence Day for a volume which Knopf plans to publish next year. Will those who received any letters of any kind from Clarence be kind enough to send them to me c/o Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 730 Fifth Avenue, New York City? They will be handled with great care and returned promptly.

Katherine B. Day.

New York City.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Edith Wynner commends the action of Dr. Alberto C. Bonaschi in refusing to deliver a commencement address at the James Monroe High School because pacifist students there were denied their diplomas for participation in the anti-war strike held on April 22. . . . Jean Roisman, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, describes an attempt to present the University library with a year's subscription to The New Masses, which was declined by the library on the ground that they had no room on their shelves for an additional publication.

Benjamin C. Marsh writes us regarding our article by H. S. Churchill, "America's Town Planning Begins" [The New Republic, June 3], to say that the problems of providing housing at rentals that workers can afford cannot be solved until the speculative values are driven out of land. He suggests a state housing corporation and an excise tax upon the privilege of holding land based on the value thereof with a moderate exemption, which, he says, would smash land speculation in a year.

Morris Levine, secretary of the W.P.A. Teachers' Union, sends us the resolutions that were passed unanimously at the "Save the Education Projects" conference held late last month in New York City. The conference went on record for sick leaves, vacations with pay, the incorporation of the educational projects with the Board of Education, the installation of prevailing wage rates and continuance and expansion of all W.P.A. projects, the removal of Victor Ridder from the post of administration and the reinstatement of Oscar Fuss and Murray Willing on their projects.

Arthur Richenthal sends us an approving comment on Ernest Sutherland Bates's articles on the conservative majority of the Supreme Court, but would like to have the picture completed by giving these same background sketches for the liberal minority.

Pauline Newman takes exception to our description of the May Day celebrations in New York City, in which we said that only the Old Guard Socialists did not take part in the parade, and held a celebration of their own. Miss Newman says that there were more than 60,000 people at the Polo Grounds, a good deal more than the membership of the Old Guard Socialists, and that the largest trade unions in the city did not take part in what she refers to as "the Communists' parade."

Karl R. Wallace, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, asks us to announce that he is engaged in a study of Booker T. Washington as a speaker and would much appreciate hearing from any of our readers who may have heard Mr. Washington speak.

What's on the Air?

President Roosevelt, Governor Lehman, Park Commissioner Moses, Senator Wagner, Mayor LaGuardia and others speak at the opening of the Tri-Borough Bridge. Saturday, July 11, 11:45 to 12:45 P.M., N.B.C.-WEAF.

Alastair Cooke, journalist, talks on the news from London. Sunday, July 12, 6:45 to 7 P.M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

General James G. Harbord speaks at the dedication of the Second Division Memorial in Washington, D. C. Saturday, July 18, 3 to 4 P.M., N.B.C.—WEAF.

Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Natalie Couch, in charge of the Women's Division of the Republican National Committee for the Eastern States, are interviewed on "The Two Party Programs as Women See Them," by Anne Hard. Monday, July 20, 5 to 5:30 P.M., N.B.C.-WEAF.

All times given are Eastern Daylight Saving Time.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Talking United States

THE ARTICLES razzing the New Deal which have been appearing in The American Mercury over the name of H. L. Mencken have sounded disconcertingly like the compositions supposed to be communicated from the other world by the spirits of Mark Twain, Oscar Wilde and William James. It is therefore reassuring to have authentically from Mencken's living hand this new edition of "The American Language."[1]

This fourth edition of Mr. Mencken's "Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States" is more than twice as long as the "Preliminary Inquiry" of 1919; and it has been filled out, deepened and elaborated until the original tentative essay (of which little survives in this new version) has been brought to maturity as an authoritative work of the very first interest and importance. It is one of the few recent books of which it is really possible to say that it ought to be in every American library and that it ought to be read by every foreigner who wants to understand the United States. What is most remarkable about it is that a work which covers so much ground and which takes up so many philological matters in detail should remain for eight hundred pages so uniformly entertaining. It is rarely that a student of language is also a literary artist: Mr. Mencken has collected his Americanisms and exhibits them in the pages of this book with the loving appreciation of a naturalist mounting butterflies or labeling new fishes. Yet even this image conveys an impression too pedantic. One is made to feel throughout "The American Language" the movement and the pressure of the American people, vindicating their independence, filling out their enormous country, drawing and amalgamating with themselves the peoples of older nations, stamping that older world itself with their speech. We hear their voices, changing in intonation, creating a new vocabulary, breaking the language in to a new syntax—from the accents of Noah Webster acridly carrying through the Revolution against England in the realm of English spelling and pronunciation, to those of the latest arrivals in the back streets of the "foreign" sections of cities, where old tongues lose their primitive inflections under the attrition of the pebbles of the easy new speech, yet, in deliquescing (to change the figure), shoot their particles into the atmosphere around.

It is interesting to note certain important differences between this last edition of "The American Language" and the earlier ones. Seventeen years ago, Mr. Mencken was doubtful as to whether American usage would come eventually to dominate English or whether the two dialects would simply drift apart. But today he seems to have no doubt that English is destined "to become, on some not too remote tomorrow, a kind of dialect of American, just as the language spoken by the American was once a dialect of English." The first edition ended by venturing the following prophecy:

> Given the poet, there may suddenly come a day when our *theirns* and *would'a hads* will take on the barbaric stateliness of the peasant locutions of Old Maurya in "Riders to the Sea." They seem grotesque and absurd today because the folks who use them seem grotesque and absurd. But that is a too facile logic and under it is a false assumption. In all human beings, if only understanding be brought to the business, dignity will be found, and that dignity cannot fail to reveal itself, soon or late, in the words and phrases with which they make known their high hopes and aspirations and cry out against the intolerable meaninglessness of life.

That passage has now been omitted. The prophecy is already coming true. Since 1919 we have had Sinclair Lewis and O'Neill, Sherwood Anderson and Carl Sandburg, Hemingway and Dos Passos, Ring Lardner and Mencken himself.

And looking back today, we can see that the first edition of "The American Language" marked a stage in the development of our literature. It marked the moment when the living tide of American had mounted so high along the sands of "correct English" that it became necessary to make some formal recognition of it—the moment when American writers were finally to take flight from the old tree and to trust for the first time to their own dialect. Six years later, in 1925, the review American Speech was started, and Sir William Craigie, one of the compilers of the big Oxford dictionary, sailed for the United States to begin work on a dictionary of American. To many readers of Mencken's first edition, the chapter on the syntax of "the common speech," in which he boldly seized the core of the subject, seemed either frivolous or shocking. Today it carries weight; we are not so sure of the grammar of the future. Looking back, we must give Mencken credit for one of the really valuable services performed in our own day by American criticism for American writing. For the period of literary activity which reached its height just after the War, two critics of importance stand out: Mencken and Van Wyck Brooks. Brooks exposed the negative aspects of our literary tradition and urged us to get away from our governesses. Mencken showed the positive value of our vulgar heritage; and he did more than anyone else in his field to bring about that "coming of age" for which Brooks had sounded the hour. The publication of Mencken's "Book of Prefaces" in 1917, with its remarkable essay on Dreiser and its assault on "Puritanism as a Literary Force," was a cardinal event for the new American literature. Mencken did not precisely discover Dreiser, but he was able to focus him clearly for the first time as a figure of dignity and distinction, because he appreciated and made us taste the Americanism of Dreiser as Americanism, without attempting to write him down for not being something other than American. This *positive* treatment of Dreiser—so different from the negative attitude with which even sympathetic critics had in the past approached American writers like Mark Twain, was really a weight that tipped the scales. And the appearance of "The American Language" gave Mencken's position a scholarly base which it was not easy for the academically minded to dispose of.

Mr. Mencken has invited corrections and suggestions, so I will mention the following points:

It was the *"demnition,"* not the *"deminition* bow-wows" that Mr. Mantalini in "Nicholas Nickleby" talked about.

[1] The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States, by H. L. Mencken. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 809 pages. $5.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

. . . The "O" in "Ogpu" is not an addition tacked on by foreigners: it was a part of the original name and stood for *Obedinennoe;* and the "G" stood for *Gosudarstvennoe,* not *"Gosundarstvennoe."* . . . It seems to me that Mr. Mencken underestimates the influence of fashionable English slang on the smart patter of the United States. My impression is that P. G. Wodehouse, an Englishman who has lived much in America, has had a great deal to do with creating a sort of blended Anglo-American jargon in the insouciant silly-ass tradition; and that this, instead of being confined, as Mr. Mencken seems to believe, to "consciously elegant circles," has seeped down to middle-class youth in general to an extent hitherto unknown for any slang tinged with Briticism. . . . And in his discussion of English and American "honorifics," I think that he should mention the difference between the English usage, which prefers a single Christian name or, if there is a middle name, two simple initials (C. K. Ogden, H. G. Wells), and the American usage, which goes in heavily for family middle names (Harriet Beecher Stowe, Richard Grant White—I pick them from Mencken's own pages). The value we attach to family names in this often cumbrous effort to perpetuate them represents no doubt a desire to store up and transmit distinction in a society where titles are impossible. The middle names of Americans are an attempt on the part of the property-owning classes to weave a net of solidarity and prestige across the kaleidoscopic mixtures of stock and the gaps of the country's great spaces.

Mr. Mencken describes Henry James as "a violent Anglophile" and quotes criticisms of American habits of speech uttered by him late in life when he had long been living in England. The truth is, however, that the early Henry James who wanted to be the American Balzac, was quite conscious of the possibilities of American. I quote the following from "An Animated Conversation" (included in "Essays in London," but first published in 1889). The conversation is between English people and Americans. Though the opinions are those of the characters, it does not appear that Henry James disagrees with them.

> *Oswald* (*to Clifford*). What do you mean by my language? *Clifford.* I mean American. *Oswald.* Haven't we a right to have a language of our own? *Darcy.* It was inevitable. *Clifford (to Oswald).* I don't understand you. *Belinda.* Already? *Clifford.* I mean that Oswald seems at once to resent the imputation that you have a national tongue and to wish to insist on the fact that you have it. His position is not clear. *Darcy.* That is partly because our tongue itself is not clear as yet. We must hope that it will be clearer. Oswald needn't resent anything, for the evolution was inevitable. A body of English people crossed the Atlantic and sat down in a new climate on a new soil, amid new circumstances. It was a new heaven and a new earth. They invented new institutions, they encountered different needs. They developed a particular physique, as people do in a particular medium, and they began to speak in a new voice. They went in for democracy, and that alone would affect—it *has* affected—the tone immensely. *C'est bien le moins* (do you follow?) that that tone should have had its range and that the language they brought over with them should have become different to express different things. A language is a very sensitive organism. It must be convenient—it must be handy. It serves, it obeys, it accommodates itself. . . . *Belinda.* . . . I listen to Darcy with a certain surprise . . . for I am bound to say I have heard him criticize the American idiom. *Darcy.* You have heard me criticize it as neglected, as unstudied: you have never heard me criticize it as American. The fault I find with it is that it's irresponsible—it isn't American enough. . . . *Belwood.* You have the drawback (and I think it a great disadvantage) that you come so late, that you have not fallen on a language-making age. The people who first started our vocabularies were very *naïfs.* . . . New signs are crude, and you, in this matter, are in the crude, the vulgar stage. *Darcy.* That no doubt is our misfortune. . . . But we have always the resource of English. We have lots of opportunity to practise it. *Clifford.* As a foreign tongue, yes. *Darcy.* To speak it as the Russians speak French. . . . *Clifford.* The Russians are giving up French. *Darcy.* Yes, but *they've* got the language of Tolstoy. . . . Our great writers have written in English. That's what I mean by American having been neglected.

Lastly, I wish that Mr. Mencken would add a chapter, or even write a companion volume, on the development of style in America. How have the different rhythm and tempo of our speech, how have the different values given the English vowels, affected the writing of poetry? And how is it that the prose styles of writers so different from one another as, say, Mark Twain, Henry James and Dreiser are all, in their several ways, mediums characteristically American which could never have been produced by the English? Two things, certainly, would be plain from such a study. First, that at a time when prose style in England was growing excessively elaborate and ornate (Ruskin, Carlyle, Meredith: even Dickens suffers badly from the upholstery of the period, except when one of his characters is talking), American prose reverted to something more like the colloquial directness and simplicity of the writing of the seventeenth century. If it is not true, as Hemingway has said, that "all modern American literature comes from 'Huckleberry Finn,'" it is certainly true that an important part of it does. It would be impossible to bring the language of literature any closer to the language of conversation than has been done by Mark Twain and his successors. Some of the best of our fiction has been written in the form of a series of simple statements connected by *and.*

Another conspicuous feature of our literature has been its comparative neglect of the English heritage proper and its drawing of nourishment from the literatures of other nations. The influence of French culture in America, which goes back to the Francophile Jefferson and Franklin, has certainly been very much greater than it has, during the same period, in England (setting aside the Irishmen, George Moore and Joyce, and the Pole, Joseph Conrad). The American fiction of the last generation was profoundly affected by the French novel—from the influence of Flaubert and his school on Henry James and Edith Wharton to the influence of Zola on Frank Norris; and the poetry of our own generation has been pretty well permeated by French symbolism. Our culture is polyglot in its elements: in spite of the English basis of our language, we are culturally almost as close to the other European countries as to England. The strayed French and Spanish words which seem to have fluttered into Walt Whitman's poems were the first swallows of a cosmopolitan summer. Mencken's burlesque denunciations certainly come straight from the German. And lately the patterns of our fiction have been shaken by reverberations from Russia.

At any rate, I wish that Mr. Mencken would publish a study of American writing containing specimens and commentary; and I should like to see him include in it that wonderful essay on the prose style of President Harding which appeared years ago in The Nation and which unhappily has never been reprinted. EDMUND WILSON.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War and No Peace

Gone with the Wind, by Margaret Mitchell. New York: The Macmillan Company. $3.

MISS Margaret Mitchell has adapted the picaresque novel to her own purposes, presenting in "Gone with the Wind" a rogue's-eye view of the Civil War and Reconstruction. But since the unscrupulous rascal who must traditionally form the center of such a novel is not only a young woman, but also—at least by virtue of her upbringing—a Georgia lady, adventures must come to her; she cannot go far out of her way for them. They come to her in devastating plenty with the war and continue throughout the carpetbag dictatorship.

Scarlett O'Hara is the child of a gently bred Creole mother from the seacoast and of a riproaring, hard-riding Irishman on the make, whose stiff head for liquor and sure hand for poker have won him a large plantation in the Georgia uplands. For the critical uses of the novelist, therefore, she is well placed; for though she is born to a position in the planter class, she takes after her father and is never completely of it. Besides, this is a new country, red lands rich for cotton, but only a generation before cleared of Indians. It is constantly threatened by seedling pine and blackberry brambles and ready to slip back to wilderness. And Atlanta, where much of the action takes place, has at this time all the rawness of a frontier town; conventions appropriate enough to old settlements like Charleston and Savannah must here appear trivial.

Scarlett in any case could not be assimilated. Mean, superstitious and unsurpassably selfish, only in girlhood does she even superficially wear the manners of her apparent class; their emotions she never shares. Any necessity of the spirit is beyond her; the most she knows of the mind is a low peasant cunning, which values nothing beyond her own precious skin and the land and money that will allow it not to perish. To hold the one and procure the other, she kills a thieving Yankee soldier, robs his corpse, engages in several marriages, buys mills, exploits convict labor, cheats, and indifferently sends several to their deaths.

Scarlett is matched with another rogue, her male counterpart, a renegade aristocrat originally from Charleston, as reprehensible as she in morals, but much her superior by reason of his romantically cynical intelligence. Miss Mitchell uses the two of them to assert indirectly the virtues of the society whose destruction they witness. By this device, she has clearly hoped to avoid sentimentality in treating a subject she fears as sentimental. A greater novelist would have no such dread: Tolstoy is not afraid of Prince André's enthusiasm for the Tsar. And Miss Mitchell is somewhat hampered in the long run by the emotional inadequacy of her heroine, as well as the limitations of her mind. Scarlett undergoes the war, but reacts neither to its pity nor its terror. And she is too stupid to know that there are larger issues involved than her own survival.

"Gone with the Wind" is one of those thousand-page novels, competent but neither very good nor very sound. The historical background is handled well and with an extraordinary sense of detail. The moral problem is less sure in its treatment. It is this: In a society falling apart, upon what terms can the individual afford to survive? Scarlett wants only to last and takes any terms life offers. Miss Mitchell seems to approve of her persistence. But she also implies that civilization consists precisely in an unwillingness to survive on any terms save those of one's own determining.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP.

WOMEN:

Go to any bookstore and ask for "FACTS AND FRAUDS" (or use the coupon below) and you will obtain what may prove to be *for you* one of the most valuable volumes ever published

FACTS and FRAUDS in WOMAN'S HYGIENE

A Medical Guide Against Misleading Claims and Dangerous Products

By RACHEL LYNN PALMER and SARAH K. GREENBERG, M.D.

This volume, the work of an expert on consumer problems and of a noted obstetrician and gynecologist, does for widely advertised articles of women's hygiene precisely what 100,000,000 GUINEA PIGS accomplished in the field of foods, drugs and cosmetics.

Among the many products of varying degrees of merit—or lack thereof—treated in this work are:

Midol
Lysol
Kotex
Modess
Anacin
Novo
Orangeine Powders
Mu-Col
Fleischman's Yeast
Allonal
Gynettes
Novak's Female Drops
Amidol
Amytal Compound
Hexin
Grove's Laxative Bromo-Quinine
Chichester's Diamond Brand Pills
Zonite
Pariogen Tablets
Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound
Norforms
Pyramidon
Menstrua
Wix
Antikamnia
Fibs
Ergoapiol
Amita Tablets
Birconjel
etc., etc.

A glance at the table of contents will reveal to some degree the valuable nature of this book

CHAPTER
I. The Feminine Hygiene Field
II. Menstruation—A Simple Explanation
III. Dysmenorrhea—"The Cramps"
IV. Drug Vendors and "Periodic Pain"
V. Other Menstrual Irregularities
VI. Adolescence
VII. "The Change of Life"
VIII. Leucorrhea, or "the Whites"
IX. The Unnecessary Douche
X. Lysol and Zonite
XI. The Abortion Business
XII. Sterility and Sterility "Cures"
XIII. Beauty—Can It Be Bought
XIV. Contraception—Four Methods
XV. Contraception—The Advertisers' Way
XVI. Contraception—The Clinic Way
Bibliography
Index

The price of this 312-page book is $2.00 at all bookstores

MAIL THIS COUPON TO YOUR BOOKSELLER OR TO:

THE VANGUARD PRESS N. R. 5
424 Madison Avenue, New York City

☐ *Please send me a copy of FACTS AND FRAUDS IN WOMAN'S HYGIENE for which I enclose check or money order for $2.15 (which includes postage and handling.)*

or

☐ *Send me the above volume C.O.D.*

Signed .....
Street .....
City..... State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Farewell and Hail

Forsytes, Pendyces and Others, by John Galsworthy. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

The Life and Letters of John Galsworthy, by H. V. Marrot. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 834 pages. $5.

NONE OF the varied material in "Forsytes, Pendyces and Others" can lay claim to the literary value accorded some of the tales in "Caravan," or such a play as "Justice." Mostly, these are leftovers, trivial expanded anecdotes, conventional praise for a fellow author, plays that were left unfinished or, happily, unproduced. Of greater interest and merit are two notes on W. H. Hudson which display a critical acumen unusual to Galsworthy; and "The Doldrums," a fictionalization of an early experience of Conrad and Galsworthy, which contains a first-hand portrait of the former while he was still a sailor. "Danaë," an abandoned beginning to "The Country House" (1907), illustrates one of Galsworthy's virtues and one of his limitations. He had the artistic tact to give over his first start at the novel, but he never had a sufficiently broad understanding of life to create characters that varied greatly from those represented in the fifty-five pages of this early composition.

All that is necessary, save the lapse of time, for a definitive critical study of the life and work of John Galsworthy is contained in H. V. Marrot's scholarly yet charming biography. It is written with beautiful restraint and, despite the author's bias only this side idolatry of his subject, there is nothing suppressed that the worst enemy of Galsworthy would feel it necessary to unearth.

It is a biography that almost disarms criticism. It reveals all of Galsworthy's sweetness, all of his integrity, all of his soldiering for a better life, and such revelation is needful to a generation that has forgotten rather too easily that Galsworthy's lack of larger social principles was in great measure owing to the time in which he lived.

Galsworthy started life in the relatively staid 1860's; he was a typical product of the public schools, afflicted with a love of athletics and a rather narrow notion of fair play. His first fiction was in imitation of Kipling. When he himself became involved in a long and painful love for a woman unhappily married to his cousin (like his own Jolyon) he began to perceive how prejudiced and unfeeling the average Englishman is, how incapable of assuming a point of view other than his own. He came to believe imaginative sympathy the one thing needful and started to show, by his negative method of impressing the right course through showing the wrong, how painfully circumscribed was the attitude of most Englishmen to individual and social injustice.

From the point of view of today, his efforts, particularly as they appeared in his later, reiterative novels, seem inadequate. But it is difficult to see how they could have been otherwise. His closest associate was the "pure" artist, Conrad, who continually warned against the moralist getting the better of the artist; the only propagandist he knew at all intimately, H. G. Wells, was continually shifting the front in which he rather ineffectively warred; individuality and impartiality, not unanimity in a common cause, were the keynote to most art of his developing years.

Such influences, if they do not excuse, at least explain the frequently vitiating desire to be impartial at all costs, the too conscientious steering clear of all "isms," the attempt to keep in separate compartments Galsworthy the pamphleteer for lost causes and Galsworthy the artist.

Fortunately, I think, he was not so impartial as he believed. Who, for example, can come away from a reading of "The Country House" approving of Pendycitis, from "Quality" with an admiration for our industrialism, from "The Man of Property" with respect for the avid pursuit of prosperity? And it is certainly impossible to read many of his works without a quickening of one's sense of beauty: how else can "The Apple Tree" and "Indian Summer of a Forsyte" affect one?

We live in another age; we are most prone to remember the works Galsworthy wrote when he had grown tired of conflict and of development; but it is only just to remember that he pursued constantly, and with great artistic integrity and skill, the war for the liberation of humanity. Mr. Marrot has performed a fine service if he makes us conscious of this fact.

HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER.

The Lower Depths

Sterile Sun, by Caroline Slade. New York: The Vanguard Press. 156 pages. $2.75.

FROM BEHIND shaded windows, from rooming-house doorways, from the night street coming upon you suddenly and calling—"Come here, darling. Come here, sweetheart. Come here, honey, I want to talk to you"—are the practitioners of what in all countries, in all languages is known as *the business*. Fair game for the cops, the politicians, the fixers, the lawyers, the rooming-house keepers, the madams, the corner bullies, the pimps; shuddered at by the female half of the world, and used and degraded by the male half (above all they hate married men, they're the filthiest); and not considered as exploited workers, though they themselves always call it work—"I'm going to work." "I'm not working today"—though their occupation is most hazardous to health, though they are most exploited and robbed and reviled, they suffer further from a sense of their own degradation: they know they are the lowest, the most hopeless, the ultimate untouchables.

In other industries there is a constant fight to improve conditions, to lower hours, to increase the wages; even when thinking of these items in connection with prostitution one reacts with a smirk. (Once when someone spoke of hearing of a Union of Public Women in Mexico, everybody roared.) No, when the "social evil" is mentioned it is in the rigmarole tongue of the social worker, and it constitutes a small, rapidly skimmed chapter of the city's problems. Few realistic descriptions of the lives of prostitutes exist, and when these are attempted they are hidden from the general public; because of obscenity laws, because today's society is ashamed of what exists today, the truth about the green-black, festering top point of the whole social structure is restricted to "physicians, psychiatrists, sociologists," to all those who have known all about prostitutes for years, and who in spite of that have been able to do nothing about it.

Why for instance should a book like "Sterile Sun" be kept from the public? It consists of three stories told by three prostitutes. Even the weakest-minded reader would be appalled rather than attracted when reading of this constant despair, this continual shame: "When I think I might die before I stop this business I get cold all over"—"Does she think it's fun being a sewer, does she think this business is a pleasure?" The story of fourteen-year-old Sue, mistreated, brutalized, outraged even by the state trooper who is detailed to accompany her home, and who finally

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dies of a self-induced abortion, would horrify the most impressionable child. I presume that since those in authority will not easily change the system that makes these lives possible, they would at least like to prevent children from entering on similar careers.

The book is memorable because of the fact that literature on the subject is usually written by individuals not only with no social kindness in them, but also without imagination. Mrs. Slade possesses both, and further possesses skill as a writer. From her long welfare experience she has taken stories of these hopeless girls and told them with love for the girls and with understanding. Vividly she has drawn character and horrible surroundings. The book reads like fiction. Alas, it is not fiction. But perhaps, if people as gifted as Mrs. Slade will continue to pull up shades in the windows of these sordid houses on the mean side streets, and show them to the public, the time will come when the only necessary reading of them will be in volumes of historical fiction.

NATHAN ASCH.

Practical Neutrality

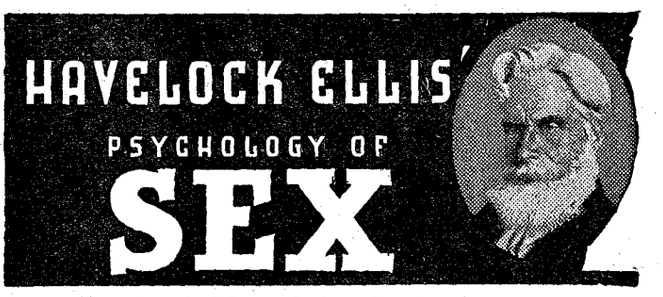
Can We Stay Out of War? by Phillips Bradley. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 288 pages. $2.75.

PROFESSOR Bradley is a rather lonely figure among those who are participating in the neutrality debate. He is not like the Borchards and Seymours and Moores, who are opposed to any major overhauling of our neutrality policy on the ground that that would be heretical and would amount to flying in the face of international law. Nor is he like Messrs. Dulles and Armstrong, who would cover the neutrality policy with so many exceptions, based on real or fancied interests, as to make that policy a futile thing. Nor yet is he like the internationalists, who would use "neutrality" as a means of getting us to participate in a universal war to prevent war, nor like the blind isolationists, who would seal the country against all contact with a warring world without really understanding what that might mean.

Instead Professor Bradley would begin at the beginning. He would first seek to analyze and assess the vital factors and values that go to make up our "national interest." In this, as he acknowledges, he has been profoundly influenced by the studies of Charles Beard. With the help of this knowledge he would seek to determine the extent to which our true "national interest" is likely to be affected by a major war abroad and then would shape a neutrality policy that would safeguard such an interest and at the same time give reasonable assurance that in the process we shall avoid any commitments or entanglements tending to drag us into the war.

While this approach brings Professor Bradley out more or less on the side of the isolationists, it is a far more intelligent approach than that employed by the tradition-bound legalists, the internationalists or the opportunistic isolationists. Professor Bradley, however, might have paid more attention to the relation of foreign trade to a profit economy. He appears to assume that in cutting off this trade, we should merely be cutting off eight to ten percent of our national income—forgetting that an outlet for its surplus goods and surplus capital is of vital importance to a profit economy. In this respect and one or two others, this study is not above serious criticism. Nevertheless it is probably the most valuable contribution to the general subject that has come from any student in the course of the current debate.

MAURITZ A. HALLGREN.



A Manual for Students and the General Reader

His LATEST Book on the Sexual Life

Crystallizes the Findings of a Lifetime

IN ONE VOLUME—389 PAGES

PARTIAL CONTENTS

The Nature of the Sexual Impulse
The Sexual Zones
The Sexual Impulse in Youth
Masturbation
Frigidity
Impotence
First Intercourse
Secondary Sexual Characters
The "Under-sexed"; the "Over-sexed"
Exhibitionism
The Sexual Criminal
Analysis of Courtship
Sadism and Masochism
Woman's Change of Life
The Dangerous Age in Men
Cruelty and Pain in Relation to Sex
Homosexuality
Hermaphroditism
Sexual Abstinence
Sex Intercourse and Health
The Choice of a Mate
Preparation for Marriage
Fertility and Sterility
Divorce
Monogamy; Polygamy
The Nature of Birth Control
The Question of Abortion
Frequency of Coitus
The Sexual Athlete: Satyriasis: Nymphomania
Jealousy
Married Love
Psychoanalytic Concepts of Sex
Pre-marital Knowledge and Experience
Modesty; Nudism
Childbirth: Sex Life during Pregnancy; Immediately after
Sexual Feeling in Women
Sex Practice in Marriage
Methods and Technique of Coitus
Sexual Pleasure and Conception
Positions in Coitus
Sex Life and Nervous Disorders
Sexual Difficulties
Freud's "Unconscious"; "Libido"
Dreams; Their Significance
Sex Life of Unmarried Adults
Sexual Fetishes and Symbols
The Art of Love
Sexual Adjustments
Sex Happiness
Age and the Sexual Impulse
The Sexual Impulse and Love
Love Rights of Women; of Men
Esthetics of Coitus
Expression and Repression
Substitutes for Sex
Glossary of Sexual Terms
Index

AUTHORIZED • $3.00 POSTPAID • 5th PRINTING

THE NEW REPUBLIC *says:*

"Has all the qualities of a scientific text except dullness . . . a popular book on a difficult subject without sacrificing either accuracy or dignity. . . . As to the art of loving, Ellis knows his husbands! He does not hesitate to ascribe to them the 'frigidity' of so many wives."

Carl Van Doren, Ph.D., *says:*

"The best one-volume treatment of sex in the English language."

FREE OFFER

THE NATION *says:*

"There is probably no better introduction to contemporary knowledge and contemporary theories about the physiology, psychology and hygiene of sex."

Mail this coupon to your bookseller or to
EMERSON BOOKS, INC., Dept. 515-R
333 Sixth Avenue, New York City
Send me a copy of Havelock Ellis' Psychology of Sex for free examination. I will deposit $3.00 plus a few cents delivery charge when the book arrives. Full purchase price to be refunded, if returned within 5 days.
Name .....
Address .....
☐ CHECK HERE if you wish to enclose only $3, thus saving delivery charge. (Same money-back guarantee.)

RESORTS

CAMP TAMIMENT—Tamiment, Pa.

A carnival of gay entertainment, including concerts, cafe floor shows, musical revues, and talking motion pictures under Mac Liebman's direction will be featured every week. Eminent lecturers are presented throughout the summer season by the Rand School of Social Science, for those who are so inclined. Steal away from the torrid city for a few thrilling vacation days!

RATES JULY AND AUGUST: $29.50 PER WEEK

(De luxe accommodations Slightly Higher). Advance Reservations with Deposit

NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS—7 E. 15th Street; Tel.: ALgonquin 4-6875.
PHILADELPHIA HEADQUARTERS
Reuben E. Cohen, 1240 Widener Building; Tel.: Rittenhouse 3394

All profits from the camp devoted to the Rand School of Social Science.

THE COLONY CLUB WOODSTOCK, N. Y. in the Catskills

Modern comforts and old world charm amidst beautiful surroundings. Every room with private bath and shower. Fireproof. Center of all cultural and social activities in famous art colony. Exceptionally moderate rates. For information and reservations address: THE COLONY CLUB, WOODSTOCK, N. Y., or telephone Woodstock 200.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some Poetry in Review

Thirty-Six Poems, by Robert Penn Warren. New York: The Alcestis Press. 69 pages. $7.50.

An Early Martyr, by William Carlos Williams. New York: The Alcestis Press. 68 pages. $7.50.

THESE "Thirty-Six Poems" by Robert Penn Warren can perhaps be best described as a combination of Jeffers and Donne. The phrase is not exact, but it indicates the general outlines of Warren's talent. His themes are like those of Jeffers: in the poems of both one notes the recurring preoccupation with "the sweet sterility of death." But where Jeffers is powerfully and rhetorically impersonal in his worship of passivity, Warren is intensely, passionately personal. "Return: An Elegy," with which this book opens, sets the key for what follows; in poetry as tortured and as tense as that of Donne, Warren articulates his favorite theme, of the futility of life that tails off meaninglessly into anonymous death. One recalls again and again the tragic grotesquerie:

> give me the nickels off your eyes . . .
> if you possessed conveniently enough three eyes
> then I could buy a pack of cigarettes.

This succeeds—as Donne's poems at their best succeed—by its very extravagance, shaking and shocking the reader into attention. Almost always, Warren's best poems are marked by this straining, highly personal intensity, by a technique and an artistic mood learned not from Jeffers or any other modern but from John Donne. His poems fail when the metaphysical quality is simulated, when it is not compelled by the necessities of expression but only faked by grammatical tricks. But Warren succeeds far oftener than he fails, because there is in most of his poems a hard fidelity to experience; it is only exceptionally that he builds on artifice.

The poems in "An Early Martyr" stand in interesting contrast to those of Warren. William Carlos Williams is not concerned with revealing the artist's soul, but with recording as objectively as he can the lineaments of a scene or character or mood. Despite this apparent impersonality, one detects in his later poetry, and especially in this new book, the development of a profound pessimism. Art, he would say today, should be divorced from experience, concerned with the static and defined moment rather than with the dynamic flux, because—baldly—life is unpleasant and futile. His best poems are those which meet this theoretical requirement. The exact and vivid photograph called "Proletarian Portrait," the subtly turned representation of a mood in "Solstice" and of a momentary vision in "The Yachts"—these are almost perfect in their kind. They are wholly self-contained, they point to nothing beyond themselves; but as recreations of the thing-in-itself they are masterly. Williams is egregiously uncritical, and there are some very bad poems in "An Early Martyr," alongside the good ones; it is worth noticing that Williams is always at his worst when he abandons his proper business of objectivist (*né* imagist) portrayal, and tries to argue in poetry. In general, too, his short poems are better than his longer ones. The explanation in each case is that Williams has gone outside his field; his forte is the single sharp concept, and he is prone to fumble at the complex succession of concepts that life usually involves. Within his own range, when he is concerned with the evocation of the isolated image, Williams is magnificent.

Here, then, are two poets with substantially the same outlook on the world—that outlook which Mr. Krutch has ticketed for us as "The Modern Temper." Warren and Williams present two phases of this outlook, the explicit and implicit expression of it. At their best, they communicate with clarity and art an attitude that dominates many of the most sensitive minds in America. But our world includes more modern tempers than one, and that temper which impregnates these two poets does not seem to be part of the continuing line of social development.

ROBERT LANN.

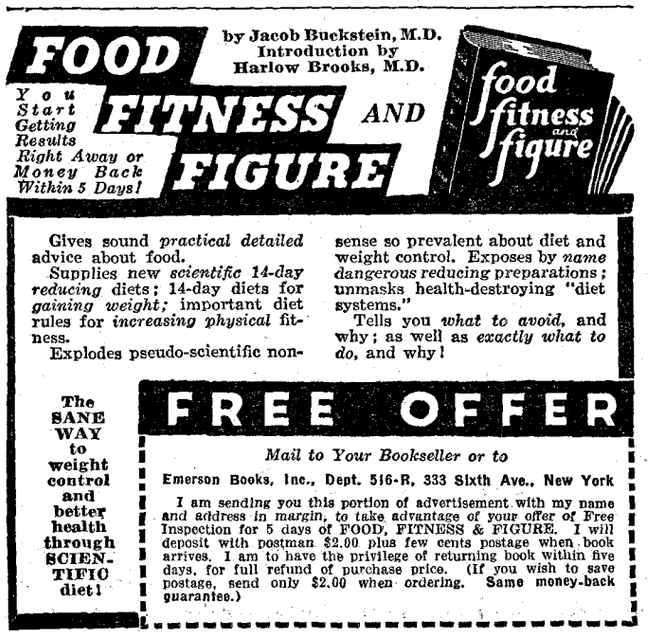
Landscape with Figures, by Lionel Wiggam. New York: The Viking Press. 76 pages. $1.75.

WHEN ONE reads on the jacket flap of this book a sketch of the author's life, there is a flush of expectation at the prospect of reading the first poetic fruits of such diverse and real experiences. There follows a corresponding disappointment in the discovery that for the most part one is not at the heart of a new and personal recreation of experience, but in the too familiar landscape of a poetic convention: elegiac nature poetry.

Within this convention Mr. Wiggam is effective and usually adequate—as note such poems as "Unlike the Bee," "This Mountain Is My Property Alone" and "As Falling Frost." In these there is the well modulated music and deft subjugation of image to prevailing mood that the genre requires, resulting in very pleasant verse. But often enough there are infelicities of image that mar otherwise good poems. For instance in the poem beginning:

> He is forsaken, now: he grieves.
> He fretfully strolls the impassive field in wonder

the second line falls to pieces under its burden of irreconcilables. And again in the second poem: "The same break-


FOOD
FITNESS AND
FIGURE
by Jacob Buckstein, M.D.
Introduction by
Harlow Brooks, M.D.
You Start Getting Results Right Away or Money Back Within 5 Days!
food fitness and figure
Gives sound practical detailed advice about food.
Supplies new scientific 14-day reducing diets; 14-day diets for gaining weight; important diet rules for increasing physical fitness.
Explodes pseudo-scientific nonsense so prevalent about diet and weight control. Exposes by name dangerous reducing preparations; unmasks health-destroying "diet systems."
Tells you what to avoid, and why; as well as exactly what to do, and why!
The SANE WAY to weight control and better health through SCIENTIFIC diet!
FREE OFFER
Mail to Your Bookseller or to
Emerson Books, Inc., Dept. 516-R, 333 Sixth Ave., New York
I am sending you this portion of advertisement with my name and address in margin, to take advantage of your offer of Free Inspection for 5 days of FOOD, FITNESS & FIGURE. I will deposit with postman $2.00 plus few cents postage when book arrives. I am to have the privilege of returning book within five days, for full refund of purchase price. (If you wish to save postage, send only $2.00 when ordering. Same money-back guarantee.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers will burst with the sound like bells"; or in the two opening lines of another:

> Like stern water pounding the shore
> Love rises in a woman's side

—there is a serious failure to create an image in which diverse elements are fused by existing in a one-to-one relationship to one another and to the whole. Mr. Wiggam seems to use images as ornaments rather than as essential parts of a poem and thus robs his work of much vitality and clarity. That he can create a precise image which stands independent of mood and music is witnessed by this from "Arrowhead":

> Barbaric hands with murderous intent
> Chiseled this indentation like a star;
> Piercing the evening-colored air it went,
> Whistling and savagely triangular.

That he doesn't do it more often is very likely due to the convention in which he is writing, the vocabulary and spirit of which are too tired to create more than prevailing moods and music. He writes at his best when he is comparatively free of these and when, as "In a Garden" and the opening poem of the book, his language is more personal and his images sharper. Let us assume that the strain evident in much of his work is token that his unfolding talents are already becoming too large to be quite comfortable in the small and easy convention in which he has begun. With this in mind one thinks of Rilke, whose early work was a chaste and wistful model of elegiac nature poetry, yet who by dint of a long struggle to create a close and living relation between experience and language finally wrote some of the most beautiful and profound poetry of our time. As a precept for Mr. Wiggam one might quote this passage from one of Rilke's "Requiems":

> O ancient curse of poets,
> always bewailing themselves instead of saying,
> . . . . Invalids,
> using a language full of woefulness
> to describe for us just where it hurts them,
> instead of transmuting themselves into the words,
> doggedly, as the carver of a cathedral
> transfers himself to the stone's constancy.
> This would have been salvation. . . .

PHILIP HORTON.

Ideas of Order, by Wallace Stevens. New York: The Alcestis Press. 63 pages. $7.50.

THIS BOOK is further proof of Wallace Stevens' poetic vitality. Most of the characteristics of his earlier work are here: the wit that frequently turns upon itself, the special and sometimes precious vocabulary, the ambiguity astutely employed, the grave irony, the sad resignation. However, the colors are less exotic, the associations less strange than in "Harmonium." The times and a ripened maturity have begun to stiffen Mr. Stevens' rhetoric. Some of the poems seem merely the record of experience taken from the surface of the mind, the thing instantly perceived and set down. But "Sad Strains of a Gay Waltz," "Dance of the Macabre Mice," "The Sun This March" and at least a dozen others are important and complete in design. It is a pity that such a rich and special sensibility should be content with the order of words and music, and not project itself more vigorously upon the present-day world.

THEODORE ROETHKE.

W.P.A.
FEDERAL THEATRE
Evenings Only
Tickets at Box Office or 701 8th Avenue
25c to 55c
NO HIGHER
MEd. 3-5962

"MACBETH"
ADELPHI THEATRE 54th St. E. of B'way
Every Evening 8:40 CIrcle 7-7666

"BATTLE HYMN"
EXPERIMENTAL THEATRE (DALY'S)
Broadway at Sixty-third Street
Evenings 8:40 Phone CIrcle 7-5885

"TURPENTINE"
NEGRO THEATRE—The LAFAYETTE
131st Street and Seventh Avenue
Evenings 8:40 Phone TIllinghast 5-1424

Beginning Tuesday, July 14th
"HELP YOURSELF"
MANHATTAN POPULAR PRICED THEATRE
Broadway at 53rd Street. AIR COOLED
Evenings 8:40 Phone CIrcle 7-6771-2-3

Beginning Wednesday, July 15th
"INJUNCTION GRANTED!"
BILTMORE THEATRE. 47th Street and 8th Avenue
THE LIVING NEWSPAPER
Evenings 8:40 BRyant 9-4692

Now in pamphlet form
Does Socialism Work?
Three articles on the Soviet Union
by GEORGE SOULE

It is seldom that a writer brings to his subject the technical equipment and the alertness of spirit that the subject precisely demands. George Soule evaluated his experiences and impressions in Russia from the perspective of a trained economist, noted them with the eyes of an insatiably curious tourist, and analyzed them to determine what their meaning was for all of us here at home who want a better social order in the United States. These are the three articles: (1) How People Live in the Soviet Union; (2) Materialism and Culture in the Soviet Union; (3) Judging the Soviet Union.

Order a copy for yourself, and copies for friends who desire forthright and sound information on the world's first socialist society.

25c a single copy
15c a copy in quantities of 100 or more
Regular discounts to bookstores

NEW REPUBLIC, INC.
40 East 49th Street New York, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thanksgiving Before November, by Norman Macleod. New York: The Parnassus Press. 86 pages. $2.

THE ESSENTIAL poetry of Norman Macleod lies embedded in his reminiscences of childhood, his identification with the Southwestern life of his youth, the nostalgia and frustration of his adolescence, and his maladjustment as a young man. Often his poems are a series of chaotic impressions without logic or sequence, replete with conceits and badly wrought metaphors. A single poem will contain moods, ideas and pictures unrelated to each other. This disorder shows a groping spirit, a lack of discipline, the poet's inability to control the profuseness of his associations.

Norman Macleod has a section in his book devoted to revolution and the class struggle, but in attempting to write political poems he is misdirecting his talents. The poetry of Macleod has a different emotional field. It would be a peasant poetry if he were brought up on the farm; but it is the nomadic and romantic poetry of an uprooted Westerner adrift in urban society. The line "without kindness airplanes circle the universe" echoes the romantic's maladjustment to the machine age.

Norman Macleod is most successful in a personal poem like "Bellevue Hospital, 1934" (a cry of need for human sympathy and understanding), and in simple pastoral statements like "Young Manhood in Idaho"—"we dried ourselves with wind and fastened our clothes around us, walking with the mood of clouds back to the ranches to milk the cows." The poem "Journey Imagined" summarizes Macleod's real sentiments, his disillusion with the "myths of happiness related in childhood," the "lie we lived," and the yearning "For quiet valleys with bread and cheese, the simplicities of sleep."

C. H. NEWMAN.

Contributors

CONSTANCE ROURKE is the author of several books concerning American cultural history, including "American Humor." Her biography of Audubon will be published by Harcourt, Brace this fall.

H. F. KANE was born in 1871, learned the printers' trade, and joined the Typographical Union at the age of twenty. In 1906 he joined the I.W.W. and since then has edited several of their periodicals. He was an associate of Frank Little, who was lynched at Butte, Montana, in 1917; he was tried in Chicago in 1917 with "Big Bill" Haywood and sentenced to five years in jail; and when President Harding offered commutation of sentence to these prisoners he was one of the eleven who refused to accept.

EVELYN MILLER CROWELL is the author of a novel, "Hilltop," and she has been in charge of the editorial section of the Division of Press Intelligence for the United States government since its creation in 1933. She is the wife of Chester T. Crowell.

SELDEN C. MENEFEE is the author of a study on "The Influence of Stereotype Words in Determining Political Judgments."

EDMUND WILSON'S most recent book, "Travels in Two Democracies," was published in May by Harcourt, Brace.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP is the author of two books of verse, "Minute Particulars" and "Now with His Love," and a novel, "Act of Darkness."

HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER teaches English at Colorado State College and has written critical articles for Modern Language and The Sewanee Review.

NATHAN ASCH is the author of "The Valley," "Pay Day" and other novels.

MAURITZ T. HALLGREN is the author of "Seeds of Revolt" and "The Gay Reformer: Profits Before Plenty Under Franklin D. Roosevelt," published last year.

PHILIP HORTON was graduated from Princeton in 1934. He was one of the contributors to the anthology of young poets, "Trial Balances," published last year, and is now working on a biography of Hart Crane, to be published by W. W. Norton in 1937.

THEODORE ROETHKE is a native of Saginaw, Michigan, and was educated at Michigan and Harvard Universities. He has contributed to The Atlantic Monthly, The New Masses and other magazines.

RESORTS

A COMPLETE MODERN CAMP FOR ADULTS IN THE ADIRONDACKS

New 22-Room Club-house, each room with private bath
Private golf course, tennis courts and all other sports facilities.
Complete Theatre
Chamber Music by Manhattan String Quartet
Moderate Rates
Reduced Fare $4.30 one way to Lake George
Inquire for Special July 4th Weekend Rate
Communicate:
Warrensburg, New York, or City Office, 11 W. 42nd St., N. Y. — COlumbus 5-6346.
Lena Barish - Sam Garlen Directors

GREEN MANSIONS
WARRENSBURG N.Y.

VOICE TRAINING

AUGUSTIN DUNCAN: Voice Training for stage platform and screen. Private and class instruction. Studio, 168 E. 51st Street, New York City.

RESORTS

A Delightful Hide-Away

in the mountains, inviting people of better taste. Tennis, handball, swimming, roller skating, other seasonal sports, solariums, excellent table. Open fireplaces, library, cultural entertainment, and loads of spontaneous fun.

Chesters' Zunbarg
Woodbourne, N. Y. Tel: Fallsburg 2 F 22

VINEYARD LODGE
ULSTER PARK, N. Y.
"Garden Spot of Ulster County"
Modern hotel midst beautiful 200-acre fruit and grape farm. Solarium, tennis, swimming, social activities. American-Jewish cuisine. Reasonable rates.
J. ROSENTHAL, Kingston 157J2

COUNTRY: FOR SALE

SIX MILES FROM WESTPORT: Quaint old house, 6 rooms, fireplace and electricity. Wide board floors and exposed beams. Nice fertile land; shade trees. 3 acres. $6,000—terms. VanHaelewyn & Walling, Wilton, Conn. Phones: Wilton 377 or CAledonia 5-4685.

SUMMER SUBLET

ATTRACTIVE, furnished large one-room apartment, kitchenette, bath. East Ninth St. $55 monthly. GR 5-6327, evenings. Box 929, The New Republic.

CORRESPONDENCE CLUBS

AN UNUSUAL CLUB for unusual people. Unusual books loaned. Send 3-cent stamp. Contacts, Box 91, Station D, New York City.

WHY NOT let our Friendship Club find—for you—that added zest in life? Box 670, Seattle, Washington. Enclose stamp.

HAPPINESS CIRCLE—the best anodyne for the lack of camaraderie. Enclose stamped envelope for details. Dept. W., Box 107, Grand Central Annex, New York.

SUMMER RATES

For Camps, Resorts, Houses to Rent and for Sale, Apartments, etc.

DISPLAY RATES: One inch, one insertion, $4.00. One inch, three insertions, $3.50. One inch, six insertions, $3.00.

CLASSIFIED RATE: One line of 6 pt. type (6 words) 40c; one line of 5 pt. type (7-8 words) $3 1/3c. No reduction on repeat insertions of ads less than a half inch.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street *New York, N. Y.*

Order your books—all books—mailed anywhere in the U. S. A.

POSTAGE FREE

from NEW REPUBLIC BOOKS
40 East 49th St., New York, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED